

THE
REBELLION

Of the
Rude Multitude

UNDER

WAT TYLER

And his PRIESTS

BAAL and STRAW,

In the Dayes of

King RICHARD the II^d,

Anno 1381.

Parallel'd with the late Rebellion in 1640,

AGAINST

King CHARLES I.

Of ever Blessed Memory.

By a Lover of his King and Countrey.

London,

Printed and Sold by J. R. and in *West-*
minster-Hall, and at the *New Ex-*
change, Fleetstreet, and *St. Pauls*
Church-Yard.





John of Lydgate,
lib. 4.

And semblably to put it at a pree,
And execute it by clere experience,
One the most contrarious mischiese
Found in this earth by notable euidence,
Is ouer this by Fortune violence
When that matches charlish of nature
The state of Princes unwarely doth recure.

A Crown of Gold is nothing accordyng,
For to be set upon a knaves heed,
A foltysh clerk for to weare a King,
Accordeth nat, who that can take hede,
And in this world there is no greater drede
Then power lybe (if it be well sought)
Unto such one that first rose up of nought.

There is no manner iust conuenience
A royal Carbuncle, Ruby, or Garnet,
Nor a chaste Emeraud of vrtues excellence,
Nor Inde Saphires in Copper to be set,
Their kind'ly power in foule metal is let,
And so the State of politike pupsance
Is eber lost where knaves habe Governance.

If for a time they may swell up ascend,
Like windy smokes their fumes sprede,
A crowned asse plainly to comprehend,
Worde of discretion, is more for to drede
Then is a Lyon: for that one indede
Of his nature is mighty and royall,
Worde of discretion: that other beaſtiall.

The gentle nature of a ſtrong Lyon,
To prostrate people of kynde is merciable,
For unto all that fall afoze him down,
His repall puiſſaunce cannot be vengeable:
But charliſh Wolues by rigour untreatable,
And foliſhe aſſes eke of beaſtialtye
Fayning reason, prayde euer on cruelty.

None is ſo proude as he that can no good,
The leuder heed the more presumption,
Most cruelte and vengeance in is he blode
Of ſuch malapertweſſe and indiscretion:
Of Chaſke and Gentle make this diuiſion,
Of outzoy of them I dare right well repoſe,
For to themſelues thei ſame, thereto the ſouyl reſoſe.



To the Reader.



*He beginnings of the Se-
cond Richard's reign are
turmoiled with a Rebelli-
on, which shoke his Throne
and Empire : A Rebelli-
on, not more against Reli-
gion and Order, than Nature and Humanity
too ; A Rebellion never to be believed, but
in the Age it was acted in, and our owne, in
which we finde how terrible the overflomes of
the common people (ever delighted in the ca-
lamities of others) untied, and hurried on by
their own wills, and beastly fury, must prove ;
though Masanello is short of Tyler, yet if we
compare that Fisherman with our Hinde, the
Neapolitan Mechanicks and our Clownes,
we shall not finde them much unlike, not in
their sudden flourish and prosperity, not in the
mischiefs they did, and the barbarous savage
rudenesse in the doing them : Masanello
made a shew of foolish unseasonable Piety to*

the Prince and Archbishop, which became not his part, which made him the more imperfect Rebell, the worse Politician; however, he might seem the better man; but these too might be but counterfeited reverences; this might be his disguise, and he might have come up to more, according to the new lights which we may imagine were breaking in. The continuance and misrule of these Worthies were much of a length; in a few dayes the brands themselves had fired, broke upon their own heads, they were pluck'd up before their full growth, like airy flitting clouds they were blown over ere they could pour down the storm they were big with. The colours of these tumults were fair, and taking, such as their Architects Baal and Straw, the Priests had layd, such as the Masters of these Schooles have delivered in all ages. The Weal publick, the liberty of the free-born people (pill'd, and sleyed by the Kings taxes, and the cruell oppression of the Gentry) Justice, Reformation, or Regulation of Fundamentall Laws long subverted (considerable names if we may believe them) sit them on. The King, his Glory, his Honour, his Safety, The King and the Commons are cryed up. But the King was compassed with Traitors and Malignants, they will have it so, and it is their

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their care to remove them root and branch;
they will fire the house to cleanse it; much
other businesse they had, much was amisse,
much to be reformed, but in the first salley
all is not noysed; What was not handsome,
What might give a fuller fright was lapped
up in folds, to be discovered as they had thriven,
to be swallowed, but gilded with a
Victory: We know crimes carried in a happy
streame of luck, lose their names in it, are
beautifull, and must be thought so: The
Ordale of the Sword justified Cæsar, and
condemned Pompey, not his cause. *Adversæ
res etiam bonos detractant* (says Salust.)
Good men, if they miscarry, doe not onely
lose themselves but their integrity, their just-
nesse, their honesty, they are what the Conque-
rour pleases, and the silly multitude, which e-
ver admires the glitter of prosperity, Will
hate them. Providence preserved the English
Nation from this blow. The Lawrel of suc-
cess crowned not the Rebels, they crumble to
their first dust again, are ruined by their own
weight and confusion. They had risen like
those Sons of the Dragons teeth, in tempests,
Without policy or advice. Their leaders were
meerly fantastical, but goblins and shadows,
men willing to embroyl, and daring, whose
courage was better then their cause; and

who to advance the design would not boggh
at a peece of Honesty, an Oath, a Protestati-
on, or Covenant ; a Verse of St. Paul, or St.
Peter, a Case of Conscience in the Way of
brave, bold, manly spirits, yet without heads
or wits to manage the great Work, which in
so vast a body suddainly composed like the
spawnes of Nile, of slime and dirt, of so diffe-
rent parts, so unquall members, was fatal
to the whole. Tyler had no brains, he could
not plot, not contrive ; and those about him
were as heavy, as very Asses as himself: He
is said to be a crafty fellow, and of an excel-
lent wit, but wanting grace ; yet crafty e-
nough he was not for the great and dangerous
enterprise : a Marius (however impious (for
such he must be) pace pessimus, fitter to re-
move things, to overturn, overturns, than for
peace (but as Plutarch of him) subtile, faith-
lesse, one who could overdo all men in dissem-
bling, in hypocrisie, practised in all the arts of
lying (and some of these good sleights Tyler
wanted not) one who had sense and judgement
to carry things on, as well as desperate confi-
dence to undertake, had become this part in-
comparably, had gone through with it, how
easily under such a Captain (if we look upon
the weaknesse of the opposition, and the villai-
nous baseness of the Gentry) had the frame of
the

the ancient building been rased, the Modell
must have held. Richard (whose endeavours
of defence or loyalty alone should have been
killing) had not fallen by the sword of Lanca-
ster, he had found his grave on Tower-hill,
or Smithfield, where the faithfull lieges of
his Crown were torn in pieces by these Cani-
bals. The reverence due to the annointed
heads of Kings began to fall away, and naked
Majesty could not guard where Innocency
could not : But Tyler blinded with his owne
fatall pride, throws himself foolishly upon the
Kings sword, and by his over-much hast pre-
serves him whom he had vowed to destroy. The
Heathens make it a mark of the Divinity of
of their Gods, that they bestowed benefits upon
mortal men, and took nothing from them. The
Clownes of the Idoll upon this rule were not
very heavenly, they were the meake ones of
those times, the onely inheritzours of right,
the kingdom was made a prey by them, it was
cantonned out to erect new Principalities for the
Mock-kings of the Commons ; so their Chiefs
or Captains would be called. Here, though
the title of the Rebellion spoke fair, was shewn
somewhat of ambition, and no little of unjust
private interest, no little of self-seeking, which
the good of the people (in pretence onely) was
to give way to, and no wonder, for the good
of

of the people properly; Was meere to be intended of themselves: and no where but amongst those was the Commonwealth. Had these Thistles, these Brambles flourished, the whole Wood of noble Trees had perished: If the violent casting other men out of their possessions, firing their houses, cutting off their Heads, violating of all Rights, be thought Gods blessing, any evidence of his owning the Cause, these Thieves and Murderers were well blessed, and sufficiently owned. Such was then the face of things, estates were dangerous, every Rich man was an enemy, mens lives were taken away without either offence or tryall, their reign was but a continuation of horrible injuries; the Lawes were not onely silent, but dead: The Idolls fury was a Law, and Faith, and Loyaltie, and Obedience to lawfull power, were damnable: Servants had the rule over Princes, England was near a slavery, the most unworthy of free and ingenious Spirits of any.

What I relate here (to speak something of the Story) I collect out of Sir John Froissart, a French-man, living in the times of King EDWARD the third, and his Grandchild, King RICHARD, who had seen England in both the reigns, was known and esteemed in the Court, and came last over after these

these Tumults were appeased : and one of
 Thomas of Walsingham, a Monk of St. Al-
 banes in Henry the sixth's dayes ; who (sayes
 Bale in his centuries of him) writes many the
 most choise passages of affairs and actions, such
 as no other hath met with. In the main, and
 to the substance of things, I have made no ad-
 ditions, no alterations, I have faithfully fol-
 lowed my Authors. who are not so historically
 exact as I could wish, nor could I much better
 what did not please me in their order. No
 man (saies Walsingham) can recite fully the
 mischiefs, murders, sacriledge, and cruelty of Hypod.
 these Actors ; he excuses his digesting them Newst.
 upon the confusion of the combustions flaming
 in such varieties of places, and in the same time.
 Tyler, Little, and those of Hertfordshire
 take up most part of the discourse ; Wallbrome
 is brought in by the halves ; the lesser Snakes
 are onely named in the Chronicle : What had
 been more, had not been to any purpose : Those
 were but types of Tyler the Idoll, and acted
 nothing but according to the Original, accor-
 ding to his great example, they were Wolves
 alike, and he that reads one knowes all. Tho-
 mas of Becket, Simon of Montfort ; the

Par. Wal.
 Wisen. 46
 &c.

Per Thomæ Sanguinem salva nos. Breviar. fest. S. Tho. Cant. Ri-
 shang. Polyd. D' Avilla Jacques Clem. the Parricide of Hen. 3. of France
 was prayed for as a Saint.

English

*Engliſh Cataline; Thomas of Lancaſter, Ri-
bels and Traitors of the former years, are Ca-
noniſed by the Monks (generally the enemies
of their Kings) miracles make their Tombs
illuſtrious, and their Memories ſacred. The
Idol and his Incendiaries are abhorred every
where, every Hiſtory deteſts them, while Faith,
Civility, Honesty and Piety ſhall be left in the
World, the enemies of all theſe muſt neither be
beloved nor pitied.*

The



THE
I D O L
OF THE
C L O V V N E S.



He Reigne of King *Richard* the second, was but a throw of State for so many yeares, a Feaver to whose distempers all pieces of the home Dominions contributed by fits (* the forrain *Guinea* part onely continuing faithfull) in the fourth yeare of his reigne, and fifteenth of his Age, the dregs and off scum of the Commons unite into bodies in severall parts of the Kingdome, and forme a Rebellion (called the Rebellion of the *Clownes*) which lead the rest, and shewed the way of disobedience first. Of which may truly be said (Though amongst o-
ther

ther causes, we may attribute it to the indisposition and unseasonableness of the age, that the fruits of it did not take) it was strongly begun, and had not Providence held back the hand, the blow had fallen, the Government had broke into shivers then. The young King at this time had few besides *Thomas of Woodstock* his Uncle, Earle of *Buckingham*, and after Duke of *Glocester*, but the servants of his house in ordinary about him; the Lord *Edmund of Langley* Earle of *Cambridge*, after Duke of *Yorke*, with the Lords *Beauchamp*, *Botreaux*, Sir *Matthew Gentry*, with others of the Nobility, and Gentry, had set saile for *Portugall*; the Duke *John of Lancaster*, another of his Uncles, was in *Scotland*, treating a peace, when this commotion brake out. Though no cause can be given for Seditions, those, who designe publick troubles, can never want pretences; *Polidore* (as much out in this story as any) gives this reason for this. The Polle money sayes he (imposed by *Parliament*) a groat sterling upon every head was intollerable. It was justly imposed, and so by some to whom Law and Custome of *England* were intollerable, not to be indured; but we shall find in the tyranny breaking in, not onely fift and

tween.

twentieth parts and loanes forced out of feare of plunder and death, but subsidies in Troops and Regiments, by fifties, (more than Sequestrations and Compositions) not under foot, low sales; for what had these Rascalls to give, but downright Robbery and violent usurpation of Estates.²

Thus would *Polidore* have it in defence of his Priests, who blew the fire, and thrust the silly rout into the midst of it. He takes it ill that *Baal* (*vall* he calls him) should be supposed by I know not what flatterers of the Nobles to have filled these sailes, to have let these windes out of their Caverns.

In the fourth yeare of this King (sayes the Monk) there was a grievous Tax exacted in *Parliament*, after cause of great trouble, every Religious paid half a Mark, every Secular Priest as much, every Layman or Woman 12d. This might discontent the people, but who prepared the Mutineers for such dangerous impressions? who fell in with them after and pushed them forward will be soon found. *Froissart* complaines of the servitude of the villanes or Bond-men, (now Names worne out) a miserable sort of drudges frequently knowne here in the *Saxon* times: excluded from any right of propriety, sold, and passed

passed away with the Mannour or Lands to which they belonged, bound to til the Lords ground, cut downe, and carry in his Corne, cleanse his Ditches, cover his Halle, &c. These *Froissart* make the first stirrers in the Insurrection, these he makes look back to the beginning of men and things, to talk of the primitive freedome, of the liberties of the Creature, above Ordinances, that only Treason against the Lords could forfeit Liberty, which was the case of *Lucifer*, and could not be made theirs, who were neither Angels nor Spirits, but men of the same shape, extraction, and Soules, with those who proudly would be thought their Lords, which (say they) was an height too much, and deserved levelling, must not be endured hereafter, equality was the way of peace and love. But can clouds fire in thunder and lightning, can earth-quakes teare the entrailles of expiring Kingdomes, without a *Muncer*, or a *Wiggington*, a *Garnet*; or an *Hall* in the mine?

If the Church and Government must be blowne up, it is fit a sanctified hand should (cast the Balles) a man (according to the pure dialect) of immediate calling, who has had the *Seale* of it, of wonderfull Zeale, of resolute dealings, the Lords *Messenger*, ex-
traordi arily

traordinarily gifted and exercised, is onely fit to advance *Gods matters*, the *Holy cause*, and action, and a Renegado from his orders; an Apostate Church-man will best become this person, a man with whom nothing else is sacred but his owne ambition, his innovation, and the propagation of his Schisme. One *Baal* the most sottish and most unworthy, but most factious of the Clergy, is stirred up by the Devill (who, if rebellion be as the sinne of Witchcraft, is the Father of both) to be the Antichrist of this Reign, to blaspheme and cry down *God* and *Cesar* his anoynted, the Rights of *God* and *Cesar*; and who, if he knew any thing, was certainly the very Atheist of that age; Of these imaginations (so Froissert of those before) was a foolish Priest in the County of Kent called John Wall (for *Baal*) and to make it plain that he was the Father of the uproare, he had been (sayes this Knight) three times in the Archbishop's prison (a persecuted Saint) for these Opinions, but delivered by him; his Conscience was scrupulous of proceeding farther, which this Historian condemnes him for: we shall hereafter see the Archbishop in *John's* hands, who shall come short of this mercy. *John* had preached (if it be not impious to use) the word

here) twenty yeares, and more, ever babbling those things which he fancied would be gracious to the multitude ; He haunted by-places, the Cloysters of the Cathedrall; when the Church was shut against him, the Streetes and Fields were holy ground ; There this excommunicated Apostate laid his Nets. His discourses to the people were partly invectives against Tithes (which he allowed not where the Parishioner was of better life and smaller estate than the Parson, whose estate at this rate must be small enough) against Bishops, and the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry ; Then he had his quarrells to the Government, his Doctrine struck at propriety, and order, the World was impaired with Diseases, which must be the more for their age, the crisis would be dangerous, and there could be no health, no soundnesse hoped for, till Names, Estates, and things were common. His advise was to let the King know the resolutions of the new Common-wealthsmen, to tell him where the *Supreme power* lies, whose Trustee he was, that another course must be taken, and if he would not joyne with them, other remedies thought of : the third time he was imprisoned, he had his Revelations, his *Enlightnings*, was full of divine raptures, he foretold his de-

live.

liverance by 20000. men, which happened in the following tumults, when his Disciples made so many Gaole deliveries. This, knowing what numbers he had seduced and abused, he might presume upon probable conjecture. He was no sooner loose, but he incites and stirs up the unruly *Clowns* to all the mischiefs possible.

He tells them they were pious and necessary excesses, and that the Law of Nature, which allowes all acts for our owne preservation, would justifie them: that a mad Father, who seeks to rob and destroy his off-spring, might be resisted, his thrusts might be put by, the Son might binde his hands, and if there were no other way to escape his furious violence, kill him in his owne defence. The safety of the people is the Supreme law. If the Prince persisting (after faire warning) *to make himselfe a shield and defence to wicked intruments of mischiefs, Malignants and enemies of the Commons, securing them from the justice of the Commons, endanger himself and his Kingdom, he may thank himselfe; We (sayes he) are willing to hazard our selves (good men) to preserve both; we will never give any impediment. or neglect any proper means of curing the distempers of the Kingdom, and of closing the dangerous breaches (made*

B 2

by

by themselves, according to the trust which lies upon us. At Black heath, where an assembly of 200000 men made their Rendezvouze, after some time spent in seeking God, he baits in Rime,

Walshg. **W**ahn Adam dail and Eve span,
Who was than a Gentleman ?

Was his levelling leud Text : hence it was to be consequent, that as nature, and the Creation made no distinction, no more ought Lawes to make or suffer any ; that servitude is the daughter of unjust oppression, introduced by wicked men against Gods Will. That if it had pleased him to have created slaves, in the beginning he would have chosen, and marked out who should have been the Lord, who the Vassal ; he asks where the Word allowes these sweet things called Lords, verily *Knaves in Purple*, Sons of Caine, of Nimrod, of Esau, of Ishmael, fat by the blood and sweat of the poore innocent Plebeians, honourable in nothing but the outside, and noble onely in riots and adulteries, as cruell, as ravenous, as killing (and as barbarously) as the Beares, the Lyons, the Tigers of their escutcheons, the Dragons of their bearing ; he asks why the limber
 Knights,

Knights, and Franklins, who are onely better combed, can kisse the hand and lowt with more grace, must eat the Capons, which the sturdy brave Commons must starve themselves to cramme: nothing could be good which was great, nothing but *Independency* was divine.

He bids them consider, now was the time appointed them by God to cast off the yoke, that if they would not be wanting to themselves, they should assert their long looked for liberty, and like good Husbandmen, who love their field, pluck up the weedes which over run it (which signified *rooting out the wicked, and those who carried the mark of the Beast*) He points them out the heads devoted, destined for slaughter. * The House of Lords, the Peers (as yet they speak no higher) whom he would have brought to Repentance. Then the Lawyers, Justices, Judges, Jury-men, † all the enemies of the commonalty were to be swept from the Earth, there could not else (so he concludes) be any peace or security for the future, * lopping off the Heads of those which were too tall, which over-topped too much, equall Nobility, equall Liberty, Dignity and Power (this was his old Doctrine) were the onely antidotes, without which the poysoned

*Deposito
(servitute
jugo, liber-
tate, &c.*

*Walt more
boni patris.
famil. exco-
lenis agrii
sum.*

** Regni
Majores.*

*† Quoscun-
que nocivos
communita-
tis de terra
sustolle-
rent.*

** Si subla-
tis Majori-
bus aqua li-
bertas, &c.*

Common-wealth must perish. Whosoever loved not the Cause was a Reprobate, hatefull to God, and damned Body and Soule. John concludes with an exhortation, that in order to the security and preservation of Religion and Liberty of the Subject, they will never consent to the laying downe of armes, so long as the evill Councellers and Prelates arming, or in open warre, shall by force of armes be protected against the justice of the Commons. John addes, of long time there hath beene, and now is, a traiterous plot for the subversion of us and the liberty of the Subject.

In the
Croisse
for holy
land.

No wonder, when Peter the Hermit's Goose was believed to be the Holy Ghost, that John amongst as very Ninnyhammers, could strike up for a Prophet.

† Ut accla-
marent cum
Archiepif-
copum.

* Commu-
nium &
regni pro-
dicerem.

The base crew prick up their Eares, and wonder at the new truths, which their Pastor held forth, they applaud him, he is † Archb:shop elect, and Chancelour, the true Archb:shop must be called a Traitor *, a Traitor of the Commons and the Realm, to make him roome, is voted so, to be apprehended wheresoever he could be found in England, and his Head to be cut off. Here was a new Treason, and a new way of triall and sentence. But though Baal had more of the Spirit, there were other adven-

adventurers not to be robbed of their honours, other *Worthies*, *precious men*, called to doe the *Worke of the Lord*; Who put to their hands, and brought Trowels and Morter toward the raising this *Babel*. *Jack-Straw*, another Priest full of life and vigor, the Confellour, and Bosom-chaplein of *Tyler*, more inward with him, his speciall Councellour, acquainted with all his plots, in the contrivance of which he had a great part, bestowed his paines upon the *Cause*, and for action next *Tyler* the Idoll, carryed the name, which may be one cause why *Polydore* kills him in *Tyler*s stead, with the Mayors Sword; the most eminent sticklers of the Laity, of the prophaneitie, where *Wat the Tyler*, a *Tyler* by Trade, not by Name, his Name was *Helier* (an ungracious Patron, as *Froissart*) was * King of the *Ribauldes*, the Idoll of the *Kentish* *Clownes*. *John Kirkby* *Alan Treder*, *Thomas Scot*, and *Ralph Rugge*, a *Magnifico*, who gave freely away amongst his fellow Scoundrels the spoiles of his Conquests, were princes of the separation of the Tribes in *Kent* and *Essex*. *Robert Westbrome* (*Wraw* his Chaplaine refusing to set * Crowne upon Crowne, and contented to be the Arch priest of the Province) was King of *Suffolke*, and the parts

* *Wals.*
Rex ribaldorum, Idolum rusticorum.

* *Wals.*

adjacent. *St. Edmunds-bury*, once the Palace of the East Angle Kings, and *Mildenhall*, were the seats of his Sovereignty. *John Litster* a Tanner usurps the Name and power of a King at *Northwalsbam* in *Norfolk*; I may say the power and more, never was any English King so absolute, nor can any just and legall Principality be so large, and Arbitrary, *Law of the Land* with which the old Englishman was free enough, and contented, was here to be thrown out of doores. The Heptarchy of the *Saxons* seemed to revive againe, but prodigiously, the blaze of these Comets must have been fatall to the Nation; to keep an order in the History of these Russians, who abhorred it, I will give the Van to the Idoll of the *Clowns*, it is due to him, he is the first who lifts up his Head in the confusion among the *Brethren*, and deserves the first chaire, He was the Dragon, and no question in the Conclusion, had swallowed up or clipped the rest, *Litster*, *Westbrome*, and the others merited highly, but they must have been taken down *some pins*, *Tyler* must have elbow-roome, he must have been Lord Paramount, and one such Comet would have been more than enough for one Horizon. Besides *Kent* and *Essex*, were the puddle, the *Lerna* which

which bred this *Hydra* with the many Heads which poysoned most of the Counties, and in the conjunction of these two Provinces, *Tyler* the Idoll swayed all : and here I must observe this, that however *Walsingham* hatches the cause in *Essex*, yet his owne relations of *Baal* and the Letters and Sermons of this seducing Prophet bring this into question, and by him if *Kent* be not the Mother, yet are the Treasons of her and *Essex*, Sister-twins of the same birth, *Essex* onely started first.

The fire kindled from a small sparke, The *Clownes* of two Villages not named in the *Chronicles* contrive the Conspiracy there ; They send Warrants to the smaller Townes about, and rather command than intreat, all men of what age soever without any stay or deliberation to repaire to a Rendezvouze set downe. The conclusion was terrible ; It threatned plundering of Goods, Burning, Pucking downe Houses, and cutting off the heads of those who disobey the *present Power*.

The summoned Villages are frightened into Obedience, which is to *rebell* ; They leave their Ploughs, their Fields, their Wives and Farmes, and in their first rising no lesse than 5000 of the sink of the people meet ill armed, some with Staves, some with

is self.

with rusty Swords, some with Bowes and Featherlesse Arrowes, few knowing any cause of their assembling, gazing upon one another, and not finding any enemies of their own peace and good but themselves. Not one of a thousand was provided like a Souldier, but their number supplied all things, they were highly conceited of themselves, and believed they were invincible, not to be resisted. To confirme their steps, *Baal* (watching to catch, who had long waited for such an opportunity of imbroiling) drives them head-long forward, he writes to them his Letters exhortatory (where to consecrate the enterprise, Gods name is brought in; He is made to owne the *Cause*, composed of a jargon, a canting gibridge, fit for the designe (to abuse and cheat the innocent peasant, who cannot pry into things, cannot look farther than the bait) fuller of Riddles than sense, one of them found in the sleeve of one of these wretched men condemned, and under the Gallows was this.

John Schep, sometimes *St. Mary Priest* in Yorkn, and now of Colchester, greeteth well John namelesse, and John the Miller, and John Carter, and biddeth them that they beware of guile in Borough (which Stow
by

by a notable mistake callis Gillinborough)
 and stand together in Gods Name, and bid-
 deth Pierle Plowman goe to his werk, and
 chastice Hob the robber, and take with you
 John Trewman, and all his fellowes and no
 moe, John the Miker bath yground smal,
 smal, smal. The Kings Sonne of Heaven
 shall pay for all. Beware or ye be Woe, Know
 your friend from your foe. Have ynough and
 say hoe. And doe well and better, and flee
 sinne and seek peace, and hold therein; And
 so biddeth John Trewman and all his fellowes.
 A Lilt of Sanctity does well in these Cases,
 but his seeking of Peace, chastising the Rob-
 bers and stirring of Sinne, I must leave as
 mysticall. This shewes the industry, care-
 fulnesse, and vigilancy of the Prophet in
 his preparations, and his willingnesse to
 hurt. He disperseth other Letters of this
 kinde, in one, he chargeth all men in the
 Name of the Trinity, &c. to stand Man-
 like together, and help Truth (now we have
 Truth to our peace) and Truth shall help
 them, in his ragges of Verses (for a Rimer
 he would be) he is as earnest for Truth.
 They begin,

Jack

Jack Credoman doth you to understand
 That falsenes, & guile hath reigned too long,
 And Truth hath been set under a Lock,
 And falsenes reigneth in every flock ;
 No Man may come truth to
 But he must sing si dedero.

Many Remonstrances and Declarations
 flew abroad from him. The *Kentishmen*,
 seasoned by this Priest or Prophet of
 the Idol, are easily tempted by the *Essex-*
ians to associate in the undertakings, and
 share in the honour of gaining *Liberty*,
pretious Liberty for the people, and taking
 away the evill customes of the Kingdom ;
 which is the glorious Title of the tumult.
 This was no more (sayes the Monke) than
 the *Kentishmen* had long wished for. They
 are quickly ready, and by the Arts used by
 those of *Essex* put all the Countrey into a
 combustion. That they may not appeare
 with too much horror at the first sight, they
 wou'd seem to pretend to an out-side
 Piety. they account (so they tell the King-
 dome and the World) the professing of any
 thing in the sight of God, the strongest obliga-
 tion that any Christian, and the most solemn
 publick faith, that any such state, as a Com-
 mon-

Wals.

mon-wealth can give. In all humility and reverence they contrive a sacred vow and Covenant.

They fasten the knot of their holy League with National Covenants and Oaths, which themselves will first break (than which there can be no stronger tie, Religion consists in Faith, he who loses his Faith hath lost himself.) Oaths contrary to their sworne Allegiance, and former Oaths. which is a most absurd impiety; here God must be called upon to helpe, and witnesse the perfidiusnesse, oaths use to end—*so helpe me God*—he who performs not his oath, directly and plainly, renounces God, and all that is sacred and Divine; to sweare to day against what we were sworne to yesterday, must be strange amongst Christians, these impieties being once allowed, there can be neither peace, society, nor government amongst Men safe and unindangered. The wayes leading to *Canterbury* are beset, the Pilgrimes swarming thither (according to the superstition of those Ages) are seized, and forced to sweare with these extraordinary Workers. To keep faith to King *Richard* (whose most faithfull Servants, most humble and loyall Subjects, they professe themselves to be) and the Commons, according to their power

power and vocation. To accept no King called *John* (a vanity throwne in for Duke *John* of *Lancasters* sake the Kings Uncle, and neglected by the *Norfolke* reformers, who advanced King *John* *Lustere* to the Sovereignty) To be ready upon summons to assist the *Commons* (the great wheele of the *New State*, for whom this Oath was given, and to be principally respected by it.) To induce their friends and allies to hold with them, and to allow no Tax but the fifteenth (which say they falsely was the onely Tax their forefathers ever heard of, or submitted to.) How sacred in all the parts this Oath will be with them (which never was to be intended more than temporary) will soone be discovered, diversity of words cannot change the nature of things. Their first march is to *Canterbury*, where they visit *Thomas* of *Canterbury* who lived and dyed a *Rebell* to his Prince, and to use the words of *Rogerius* a *Norman*, in *Cesarius* the Monke deserved death, and damnation for this Contumacy against his King (the Minister of God, a fit Saint for such votaries; Their kindneesse was not much, they spoile his Church, break up the Bishops Chamber, and make a prey of all they finde. p ostest the Bishop shall give them an account of the

Froiss.

Cesar Dial.
A. 8, c. 69.

deserved death, and damnation for this Contumacy against his King (the Minister of God, a fit Saint for such votaries; Their kindneesse was not much, they spoile his Church, break up the Bishops Chamber, and make a prey of all they finde. p ostest the Bishop shall give them an account of the

the profits of his Chancery, and here they begin their audit.

Thus we see our *New reformers* are entered, but *Sacriledge* ushers them in, they break ope the Prisons, and free the *Saint in Bonds, Baal*; when they had done what they came for, the Citizens, who had entertained them, willingly leave their houses to keep them company; a Councell is called to resolve upon what ground the next storme should poure downe, *London* ever false to the Prince. The Wood, which no doubt would lodge the Wolves, is set by their Orders. *Tyler* the Idoll who knew his Reigne would last no longer than while these Men continued madde, thought this the onely place likely to keep them so; *London* too was the fairest mark; and besides, the *Clownes* were assured of a welcome upon a private invitation from some of the Citizens, whose Ancestors and Predecessours in all ages, in the tumults of the Confessor *S. Edwards* reigne, in all the Barons Warres since, have gained the renowned to be lovers of Reformation, otherwise pure Rebellion, enemies to Courtiers and Malignants, enemies to the enemies of their deare Liberties, which yet sometimes they pursue with too much heat and blinde zeale, sometimes to their
cost

Freiff.
Wals. Lond.
guib. nung;
âcest furia,
&c.

cost and repentance, mistaking every where both notions and things; the bridles which they without feare or wit, provide for their Kings, being often thrust into their owne moutes by the new riders, which themselves lift into the saddle, while they growne sober Mules, dare neither kick nor sling. *Behold the common people (sayes the Knight) When they be up against their Prince, and especially in England, among them there is no remedy, for they are the perilloudest people of the World, and most outrageous if they be up, and specially the Londoners ; sayes the Monk, The Londoners never want fury if they be not kept in, if license or insolence be permitted them. The Princess Dowager of the incomparable Edward the black Prince, Mother of the young King, then at Canterbury, hardly escapes these Savages, who rudely assault her Chaize, and put her and her Ladies in no small feare of Villany to be done to their persons.*

This princess was so willing to be out of their reach, that notwithstanding she was very fat and unwieldie, she got to London in a day. Tyler, who had insinuated himselfe into the good grace of these Charles by appearing the most stirring and active of the Kennell, who began and ruled the

cry, and was by I know not what Ceremony, perhaps like that Irish election by casting an old shoe over his head, declared Prince of the rabble, leades them to Rochester, which will not come behinde Canterbury in kindenesse. The people of the Towne (sayes the Knight) were of the same sect, it seemes the Castle (once one of the strongest in the Kingdome,) was now neither fortified nor manned, the Governour Sir *John Moton* yeelds himself into their hands, he was one of the Kings Family, of his House-hold, and must be thought awed, as he was into the ingagement. Here the *Commons* might be thought ashamed of their owne choyce, they offer Sir *John* the Generalls staffe; which had he accepted, he must have commanded according to the motions of the *Lieutenant Generall Tilers* Spirit, and when this turne had been over, at the least stamp of his foot have vanished, sneaked off the stage.

They tell him Sir *John*, you must be *Froiss.* our Captaine, and (which shewes the power of his Commission) you shall do what we will have you. The Knight likes not their company, he tries his best wit & language to be rid of them, but could not prevaile, they reply downright, Sir *John*, if you
C will

will not doe what we will have you, you dye for it ; we will not be denied, but at your perill. Enough was said, the Knight yeelds, but his charge of *Captaine Generall* is forgotten, we shall see hereafter what use they make of him, and in what manner he must be imployed. This example is followed in the other Countries. The Gentry did not onely lose their Estates, and honour, but their courage and gallantry, their blouds were frozen, feare had stifled their Spirits. The *Clownes* (as the Knight) had brought them into such obeysance, that they caused them to go with them, whether they would or not, they fawned on them, humbled themselves to them, like Dogs groveling at their feet. The Lord *Molines*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, Sir *Thomas Gysfighen*, this Sir *John Moton*, and others were Attendants and vassales to the *Idoll*. Every day new heaps of men flock to them, like *Catlines* Troops, all that were necessitous at home, unthrifte, broken fellowes, such as for their misdeeds feared the Justice of the Lawes ; who represent the dangerous and distracted state of the Kingdoms alike. and will no doubt hammer out an excellent reformation, they will mend their owne condition which will be enough, we must expect no more, and

Walf. qui
censuram
juris time-
bant propter
malefacta,
&c.

and now the confidence in their strength made them bold enough to throw off their maske of Hypocritic, they began to open the inside. They departed from *Redchester* (sayes *Froissart*) and passed the River (he sayes the *Thames* at *Kingstons*) and came to *Brentford*, (where I thinke he leads them out of their way) beating downe before them, and round about, the places and Houses of advocates, and procurers, and striking off the heads of diverse persons. *Walsingham* tells us, who those advocates, and procurers were; All men (sayes he) were amused, some looked for good from the new Masters, others feared this insurrection would prove the destruction of the Realme. The last were not deceived. All the Lawyers of the Land (so he goes on) as well the Apprentices, Counsellours, as old Justices, all the Jurymen of the Countrey, (this was *Priest Balls charge*) they could gripe in their clutches had their heads chopped off.

It was a maxime of the *Cabal*, That there could be no liberty while any of these men were suffered to breathe. From little to great they fell upon things which they never thought of in their first overflow, which *Guicciardine* observes (in civill discords, where the Rebellion is fortunate

and mens mindes are puffed up with successe) to be ordinary. The statue of *Cumaean Apollo* weeps for the destruction of *Cuma*, we shall here reade of men without sense or apprehensions; both the stories will seem as incredible. The stupid Nobility, and Gentry sleep in their Houses, till they are roused by these bloud-hounds, that they might seem to deserve the calamity tumbling upon their heads; They were becoming tenants at will, in Villeinage, to their vassalls, under their distresse, their Taske, and Taxes, more by the Scottish basenesse of themselves, than any vertue in these Rascals, Scorned and sleighted by every ratter'd Clunch; Their Lands continually upon any Vote or Information to be sold, or given away upon any information of loyalty or faithfulness: the ancient vertues of the Gentleman, not to be found in that age, and serving onely for a pretence to ruine, no one could form an expectation of more than this, to be the last man borne, (what was *Polyphemus* his kindness to *Ulysses*) to be devoured last, all which they were contented to hazard, and indure to preserve a shred, or jagge of an uncertaine ragged Estate (for the health or mistresses sake) subject ever to the violence of the same lawlesse spoiling force

force which maimed, and rent it before. Next (to returne to this rissaffe) their cruelty reaches to Parchment. Deeds, Charters, Rolles of Courts, Evidences are cast by them into the fire, as if they meant to abolish all remembrance of things; this was to defeat their Lords in the Claims of any antient Rights; and to leave no man more title, than themselves had to their Sword and power.

The *Kentish* and *Essexian* rout, were *Wals.* joyned (sayes the Monke, but he tells us not where) and approached neere *London*, at *Black heat's* they made an halt, where they were neere 200000 strong.

Thither came two Knights sent by the *Wals.* King to them, to inquire the cause of the Commotion, and why they had amassed such swarms of the people. They answer, they met to conferre with the King concerning businesse of weight, they tell the Messengers they ought to goe back to the King and shew him, that it behoves him to come to them, they would acquaint him with their desires (we shall quickly discover why his presence was required,) upon return of the Knights, it was debated in Councell by the Lords about the King, whether he should goe or no, some of the Table more willing to venture the King

C 3

than

than themselves, willing to throw him in to the gulph, or perhaps not senting the designe of the *Clownes*, perswade him to see them, Your Majesty (thus they) must make a tryall of these men, necessity now must be looked on above reason, if any thing can give the check to the uprores, it must be your presence, there can be no safety but in this venture, it is now as dangerous to seeme not to trust, as to be deceived; fate is too much feared, if it be imagined that this tree of your empire, which has flourished so many ages, can fall in an houre.

Wals.

*Discalgi.
ros r. baul.
dos.*

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Simon Theobald* of *Sudbury*, Lord Chancellour of *England*, the most Eloquent, most Wise, and most pious Prelate of the Age, faithfull to his Prince, and therefore odious to those who conspired against his Majesty, and authority, likes not the advice; The King ought not (sayes he) to venture his person among such hoselesse ribaulds, but rather dispose things so as to curbe their insolence: Sir, (sayes he) your sacred Majesty in this storme ought to shew how much of a King you can play; What you will goe for hereafter; by your present carriage, you will either be feared for the future, or contemned; If you seriously con-

sider

sider the nature of these rough bewne savages, you will finde the gentle wayes pernicious, your tamenesse will undoe you, mercy will ever be in your power, but it is not to be named without the sword drawne; God and your right have placed you in your throne, but your courage and resolution must keep you there; your indignation will be justice, good men will thinke it so, and if they love you, you have enough, you cannot Capitulate, not treat with your rebells, without hazarding your honour, and perhaps your royall faith; if you yeild to the force of one sedition, your whole life and reigne will be nothing but a continuation of broyles, and tumults, if you assert your soveraigne authority betimes, not onely these doults, these sots, but all men else will reverence you; remember Sir, God by whom lawfull Princes reigne, whose vicergerent you are, would not forgive rebellion in Angels, you must not trust the face, Petitions delivered you upon Swords points are fatall if you allow this custome you are ruined, as yet Sir, you may be obeyed as much as you please. Of this opinion was Sir Robert Hales, Lord Prior of Saint John of Jerusalem, newly Lord Treasurer of England, a magnanimous and stout Knight, but not liked by the Commons. When this resolution was known to the Clownes they

grow starke mad, they bluster, they swear to seek out the Kings Traitours, (for such now they must go for; No man was either good or honest, but he who pleased them) the Archbishop, and Lord *Prior*, & to chop off their Heads, here they might be trusted, they were likely to keep their words.

Hereupon, without more consideration they advance toward *London*, not forgetting to burne, and rase the Lawyers and Courtiers houses in the way, to the Kings honour no doubt, which they will be thought to Arme for; Sir *John Froissart*, and others report this part thus, which probably might follow after this refusall.

The Rebels say they sent their Knight (* so they called him, yet was he the Kings
 * *Grafton*. Knight, for *Tyler* came not up to dubbing, we finde no Sir *John*, nor Sir *Thomas* of his making,) Sir *John Moten* to the King, who was then in the Tower with his Mother, his halfe brothers *Thomas Holland* Earle of *Kent*, after Duke of *Surry*, and the Lord *Holland*, the Earles of *Salisbury*, *Warwick*, and *Oxford*, the Archbishop, Lord *Prior* and others. The Knight casts himselfe downe at the Kings feet, beseeches him, not to looke upon him the worse as in this quality and imployment, to consider he is forced to doe what he
 does;

does ; He goes on, Sir the *Commons* of this Realme (those few in Armes comparatively to the rest would be taken for the whole) desire you by me to speake with them. Your Person will be safe, they repute you still their King (this deserved thanks) but how long the kindnesse will hold we shall soone finde, they proesse that all they had done or would doe was for your honour, For your glory, (your honour and security are their great care) they will make you a glorious King, fearfull to your enemies, and beloved of your Subjects, they promise you a plentifull and unparallel'd revenue, They will maintaine your power and authority in relation to the Lawes, with your royal person, according to the duty of their allegiance, their protestation, their vow, their solemne League, and Covenant, without diminishing your just power and greatnesse, and that they will all the dayes of their lives continue in this Covenant against all opposition ; They assure you Sir, That they intend faithfully the good of your Majesty, and of the Kingdome, and that they will not be diverted from this end by any private or self-respects whatsoever. But the Kingdome has been a long time ill governed by your Uncles, and the Clergy ; especially by the Archbshop of Canterbury, of whom they would

would have an account. They have found out necessary Counsels for you, they would warne you of many things, which hitherto you have wanted good advise in.

The conclusion was sad on the Knights part, His Children were pledges for his returne, and if he faile in that, their lives were to answer it. Which moved with the the King; He allowes the excuse, sends him back with this answer, that he will speake with the *Commons* the next Morning; which it should seeme the report of the outrages done by the *Clownes* upon his refusall, & this Message made him consent to. At the time he takes his Barge & is rowed downe to *Redriffe*, the place nearest the Rebels, ten thousand of them descend from the Hill to sea, and treat with him, (with a resolution to yeild to nothing, to overcome by the Treaty; as they must have done, had not the Kings feare preserved him.) When the Barge drew nigh, the new Councill of state (sayes our Knight) howled, and shouted, as though all the Devills of Hell had been amongst them; Sir *John Moton* was brought toward the River guarded, they being determined to have cut him in pieces, if the King had broke his promise.

All the desires of these good and faithfull Coun.

Counsellours contracted suddenly into a narrow roome, they had now but one demand. The King asks them what is the matter which made them so earnestly sollicite his Presence? They have no more to say, but to intreat him to land. Which was to betray himselfe to them, to give his Life and Sovereignty up to those fickle Beasts, to be held of them during their good pleasures; which the Lords will not agree to. The Earle of *Salisbury*, of the antient Nobility, and illustrious house of *Montacute*, tells them their equipage and order were not comely, and that the King ought not to adventure amongst their troops. They are now more unsatisfied, and *London*, how true soever to the *Cause*, and faithlesse to the Prince, shall feelee the effects of their fury, *Southwark* a friendly borough, is taken up for their first quarters. Here againe they throw downe the Malignants Houses, and as a grace of their entrance, breake up the Kings prisons, and let out all those they finde under restraint in them; not forgetting to ransack the Archbishops house at *Lambeth*, and spoyle all things there—plucking downe the Stews standing upon the Thames banke, and allowed in the former ages; It cannot be thought but that the Idol loved Adultery

dultery well enough, but perhaps these publick bawdy-houses were too unclean, and might stinke in his nostrils; we cannot finde him any where quarrelling with the Beares, those were no Malignants.

Wals.

They knocked not long at the City-gates, which (some say) were never shut against them, or (as others) quickly opened: The Citizens fancied themselves privy Counsellours borne, inspired from their shoppes for affaires of State, and would not suppose, the Reformation could be effected without them, they were rich by lyes, and all the most sordid wayes of falshood, and must be sage and knowing, pride the first sinne the Devill taught man tickles them. The Major Sir *William Waleworth*, whose memory (while truth and loyalty shall be thought virtues) must be honourable, and nine of the Aldermen held for King *Richard*, in vaine; a prosperous wicked chief shall never want wicked instruments, Three Aldermen, and the grearest part of the people for the King of the *Commons*, the Idol, and his Priests. Those, the *confiders*. and well affected to *Tyler*, fortified their Major to keep him out, owne his actions, as done for the good of the faithfull people of the Land, and the *Common-Wealth*, & his followers for their Brethren

Brethren and Companions of the *holy Cause*. They *vow* to live and dye with Tylar. Many of those who had no thoughts of doing mischief (yet being none of the wisest) were cheated into a good belief of them, because of their *Protestation* (which in their first entrance they made solemnly) that they had no intent, but this onely, to search and hunt out the Traitors of the Kingdome, the *subverters of the fundamentall Lawes, evill Counsellours, and Malignants*, and that this done they would give over, they would disband, and returne home the same men they were, to their *Farmes and Cottages*, without enriching themselves, without any other harvest of their Labours, *not doubting but that in the end, it should appeare to all the world, that their endeavours have been most hearty and sincere, for the maintenance of Religion, the Kings just Prerogatives, the Lawes and liberties of the Land; in which endeavours, by the Grace of God, they would persist, though they should perish in the work.* Which was believed; what confirmed this Faith was, they made These Capitall (which yet was confined, all without the Fold of the godly were *Egyptians*, and could not be robbed) and paid justly for what they had, but they paid not often

often, nor could their reckonings be great.

The Citizens were their purveyours, and made provision for them, every house was open to them, and tables continually furnished. Their entry was on the 14 of *June*, 1289. on Wednesday (a little before Midsummer) the eve of *Corpus Christi* day; they spend the morning of the next day, being the festivall, in ringes, discoursing of the Piety, Honesty, and fairenesse of their cause, of liberty and the courses to gaine it, of seising Traitours, *Of bringing Incendendaries, Malignants, and evil instruments to condigne punishment,* of the Duke *John of Lancaster*, who was above all men hated by them, but too far off for the scratches of their clawes, being imployed in *Scotland* to treat a peace there, whence these report him turned a traitour to the *King*, and become Scottish: about noone, being warmed more by their cups, than with the Sun, for the richest Wines were drawne for them, and swallowed with that greedinesse, that they were got to the height of drunkennesse and raved like mad men, They are for execution; The Savoy of the Duke of *Lancaster* a Princely building, the most stately fabrick of the Kingdome, was fired
by

by them, his Servants there murdered, his Plate and Jewells broke in pieces, a Coat of his of great value (called in that age a Jack) in contempt and scorne to this Prince, was stuck on the top of a Lance, made a marke for their Arrows, then cut and gashed to jagges with their hatchets, one of them who had hid a piece of Plate, was throwne by the rest into the fire with it, crying out, *We be zealous of Truth and Justice, and not Thieves and Robbers.* The Londoners were here no slow men, they knew themselves guilty of receiving, and that their condition could be no worse, they might thinke too, it would be their shame for ever to be overdone in mischief, nor were they here exceeded.

The next fiery shower is discharged up-*Wals.* the Temple an Innes of Court, or College for Students of the Lawes of the Nobler sort, but belonging to the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, to whom the possessions of the Knights Templars were given by this Kings Grandfather. Many men lost there the evidences of their estates, many their lives. From hence in malice to the Lord Prior, they hasten to Clerkenwell, where they leave nothing of that noble Palace of the Knights of S. John of Jerusalem, but rubbidge, and ashes, their

their Church too was consumed in the same wicked flames. This house was seaven dayes burning downe. They breake open the Exchequer and r^{ise} *Westminster* the same day. The Flemmings or Dutch strangers, who since the *Jewes* were banish'd, suffer their part in every Sedition, are sought for all the streets through, all of them massacred, no sanctuary could save them, thirteen Flemmings were drawne out of the Church of the Friers Hermits of Saint *Augustine*, and beheaded in the streets, and seaventeen others pulled out of another parochiall Church dye in the same manner. They had a *Shibboleth* to discover them, he who pronounced *Brot* and *Cawse*, for *Bread* and *Cheese*, had his head lopt off; It was their sport if they could catch any man, who had not sworne their *Oath*, was not of the side, or was hated by any of the *Commons*, to snatch off his hood or Capuch (which was a part of the Cloak, or outward garment worne then, and served to cover the head) with the accustomed cry, or yelling which they used in beheading and overthrowing Houses, then to rush in to the streets, and hack with their fellow Jobernolles, at his neck in Crowds, till the Head dropped down.

Our most famous *Chaucer* flourishing then,

then, in his description of the terrible fright, and noyse, at the carrying away of *Chanticleere* the Cock by *Reinold* the Fox, reflects upon these cries, but in an Hyperbole of his Poeticall feined ones, and much undervaluing the horroure of the *Kentish* throats, as he will have it.

They yellen as Fiends do in Hell, &c.
 So hideous was the noyse, Ah benedicite !
 Certes Jack Straw ne his meyney
 He made shouts halfe so shrill,
 When they would any Flemming kill.

The *Lombards* scaped better, they were onely robbed of what they had, their skins were left them whole, *Wat* the Idol had long agon in *France* served *Richard Lyon* a Merchant, and *Lapidarie*, formerly Sheriffe of *London*, one of the wealthiest of the City, who had given him blowes, it was not fit this injury should be forgotten, nor was it ; It was a score now, or never to be paid, he strikes off his old masters head, which in triumph is carryed before him on a *Speare*.

This night the King was counselled to fall upon these beasts, for the most part drunk, and cut their throats, easie to be destroyed, if any man had had but the courage to overcome. It was the gallant Mayors advise, they lay on heaps without sense or motion, tired with the mischiefes of the
 D day.

day, drunk and asleepe without Guards or Watch; the Earle of *Salisbury* and the Nobility, against whose Lives, Honours and Fortunes these beasts had conspired, desired the King to try all faire and gentle wayes of appeasing them, which counsell he approves. They were not so kind to themselves; many lost their lives by the hands and swords of their companions; every petty discontent, or grudging, being enough to provoke them. Thirty two of them being trunck in a Cellar of the *Savoy* were immured there, finding in the same place Death and the Grave together. Some of them threw Barrells of Gunpowder (which was little known then) into the fire, and are blown up with part of the Palace.

Proclamations were formerly made in *Tylers* name, not in *Strawes*, (as *Polydore* w^ud have it.) *Straw* was this while busied elsewhere. The Country about was by these Proclamations summoned to repaire to *London* with all speed, to spraye this *Babylon*; The close menaces (*lest they provoke Gods Judgments*) pluck them down upon their heads. which themselves exp^lain, if ye faile, if ye and your Officers give not obedience freely to the Protector, we will send out 20000 men (20000 of our Locusts) who shall burn the Towns of the
chil-

children of disobedience ; Those of *S. Albanes* and *Barnet* (whose famous deeds challenge a place in this story by themselves) struck with the thunder of this edict, haste to *London* ; in their journey thither, at *Heibury*, a retiring house of the *Lo: Prior of S. John neere Islington* they finde 20000. or thereabouts calling downe the firmer parts of the house, which the fire could not consume. *Wals.*

Jack Straw Captain of this herd, calls these new comers to him, and forces them to sweare to adhere to King *Richard*, and the Commons. How long this *Oath* will be sworne to we shall see, and how much the safer the King will be for it. *Richard.*

We shall see too what is lost by this new Union of King and Commons, by the new fellowship, to observe the horrible irreligious hypocrisie of these *Clownes* who onely would be thought the *Protectors* of his Crown and Person. They alone had decreed his ruine, who sweare thus often to prevent it, to guard him from it ; A *Treason* not to be believed by some then till it had taken. The Commons were then divided into three Bodies, this with *Jack Straw*, the second at *Mile end* under the Essexian Princes, *Kirkby, Treder, Scot*, and *Rogge*, the third on *Tower-hill*,
D 2

hill, where the Idoll, and Priest *Baal* were in chiefe.

This last crue grew horribly rude, and haughty; the Commons there were not contented to be the Kings Tasters and no more, they snatch the Kings provision violently from the Purveyours, he is to be starved for his own good, and after, Harpies or Vultures, choose you whether, strike high, like brave birds of prey they will kill no more Flies, this was the way to secure their smaller mischiefs. *Polydore* conceit that the Archbishop and Lord Prior of *S. John*, were sent out by the King to allay their heat, is not probable.

Walsingham relates it thus, That they demanded these two (with full cryes no doubt of *Justice, Justice*) with some others Traitours by their *Law*, (a *Fundamental*, never to be found or heard of before) to be given up to them by the King with all the earnestnesse, and violence imaginable.

They give him his choice, bid him consider of it, they will either have the blood of these *their Traitours* or *his*; they making all those *Delinquents*, who attended on him, or executed his lawfull commands; whom say they, The King with an high and forcible hand protects, will not be appeased, unless

Wals. alias
scire
semesipsum
vita privā.
dum.

unlesse they be delivered up ; conjuring
 him to be wise in time, and *dismisſe his ex-*
traordinary guards, his Cavaliers, and others
of that quality, who ſeem to have little inte-
reſt, or affection to the publike good. Whether
 the Tower doores flew open at this fright,
 or the Man-wolfes crowded in, at the
 Kings going out to appeaſe the party at
Mile-end, as Sir *John Froiſſart* tells it, *Was*
 the Idol with *Prieſt Baal* are now maſters
 of the Tower, into which on Friday the 16
 of *June* they entred, not many more than
 400 of their company guarding them,
 where then were commanded ſix hundred
 of the Kings men of Armes , and ſix hun-
 dred Archers, a *Guard* not ſo extraordina-
 ry as was neceſſary then, all ſo faint-hear-
 ted, ſo unmanned at the apparition. at the
 ſight of theſe Goblins, they ſtood like the
 ſtones of *Meduſa*, remembred not them-
 ſelves, their honour, nor what they had
 been. The *Clownes*, the moſt abject of
 them, ſingly with their Clubs, or Cudgels
 in their hands, venture into all the rooms,
 into the Kings Bed-chamber, (which per-
 haps had been his Scaffold had he been
 there) ſit, lie, and tumble upon his Bed,
 they preſſe into his Mothers Chamber,
 where ſome of the merry wanton Devills
 offer to kiſſe her, others g ve her blowes,

break her head: She swownes, and is carry'd privately to the Wardrobe by her servants ; Some revile and threaten the noblest Knights of the Household, some stroke their beards with their uncleane hands (which beyond the Romane patience in the same rudeness from the *Gauls* is indured) and this to claw, and sweeten, (they meant it so) they glose with smooth words, and bespeak a lasting friendship for the time to come, they must maintain the injuries done to themselves , must not disturb the usurpers of their Estates and Rights, must not shew any sense of generosity, of faith, of honour, (it concerned *Tyler* that they should be the veryest fools and cowards breathing) if they stir, make any Claimes, they shall be reputed seditious, turbulent, and breakers of the publick (otherwise and plainly) *Tylers* peace. It was never heard (sayes the Emperour *Charles* in *Steidan*) that it should be lawfull to despoile any man of his estates and rights, and unlawfull to restore him : Our *Tyler* and his Anabaptists thought otherwise.

As *Walsingham*, they went in and out like Lords , who were varlets of the lowest rank, and those who were not Cowherds to Knights, but to Bores, value themselves beyond

beyond Rights. Here was a hotchpotch of the rabble, a mechanick sordid state composed as those under *Kettles Oke* of *Reformation*, after,

Of Countrey gnooſſes, Hob, Dick, and Hick, *Neville*
 with Clubs, and clouted ſhoon. *Kettles.*

A medley or huddle of Butchers, Coblers, Tinkers, Draymen, of Apron men and Plough jiggers, domineering in the Kings Palace, and rooting up the plants and wholesome flowers of his Kingdome in it; This place was now a vile and nasty sty, no more a Kings Palace, who will value a stately pile of building, of honourable title, or Ant que memory, since *Constantine*, when it is infected with the plague, haunted by Goblins, or possessed by Theeves. The knights of the Court, were but knights of the Carpet or Hangings. No man seemed discontented, all was hush and still. White hall was then a Bishops Palace, the Tower was to be prepared for *Tylers* highness, and his Officers but the Cement of the Stratocratie of the Government by Sword, and Club Law, could not be well tempered with vulgar blood; a servant of the Arch-bishops (who had trusted himselfe to these Guards and Walls) is forced

Wall. Sa-
cram Com-
munion.

to betray his Lord. He brings them into the Chappell, where the holy Prelat was at his prayers, where he had celebrated Masse that morning before the King, and taken the sacred Communion, where he had spent the whole night in watching and devotion, as presaging what followed.

He was a valiant man and pious, and expected these Blood-hounds with great security, and calmnesse of mind ; when their bellowing first struck his ears, He tels his servants that Death came now as a more particular blessing ; where the comforts of life were taken away, that life was irkesome to him, (perhaps his pious feares for the Church and Monarchy, both alike indangered, and fatally tied to the same chain, might make him weary of the World) and that he could now die with more quiet of conscience than ever ; a quiet which these Parricides will not finde when they shall pay the score of this and the other crimes. However the flattery of sucresse may abuse, our death-bed represents things in their owne shape, and as they are : after this the rout of Wolves enter prophane'y roaring, where is the Traitor where is the Robber of the Common people ? He answers, not troubled at what he saw, or heard.

Yes

Yee are welcome my Sonnes. I am the *Archbishop* whom you seek, neither *Traitor* nor *Robber*; Presently these Limbes of the Devill griping him with their wicked clutches, teare him out of the Chappell, neither reverencing the *Altar*, nor *Crucifix*, figured on the top of his *Crosier*, nor the *Host*, (these are the Monkes observations, for which he condemnes them in the highest impiety, and makes them worse than *Devells*, and as Religion went then, well he might condemne them so.) They dragge him by the *Armes* and hood to Tower hill without the *Gates*, there they howle hideously, which was the signe of a mischief to follow.

He askes them what it is they purpose, what is his offence, tells them he is their *Archbishop* (this makes him guilty, all his eloquence, his *Wisdom* are now of no use) he addes the murder of their *Sovereigne Pastour* will be severely punished, some notorious vengeance will suddenly *Qui pastor,* follow it. These destroyers will not trouble themselves with the idle formality of a mock-trial or Court of their own erecting, an abominable Ceremony, which had made their impiety more ugly, they proceed down right, and plainly, which must be instead of all things, He is commanded to lay

lay his neck upon the block, as a false traitor to the *Commonalty* and Realm: To deale roundly, his life was forfeited, and any particular charge, or defence would not be necessary, his enemies were his Accusers, and Judges, (his enemies who had combined and tworne to abolish his order, the Church, and spoile the sacred patrimony) and what innocency, what defence could save? With ut any rep'y farther, he forgives the Heads man, and bowes his Body to the Axe.

*Ab. ab.
manus
Domini.*

After the fisthit, he touches the wound with his hand, and speaks thus, *It is the Hand of the Lord.* The next stroke falls upon his hand, ere he could remove it, and cuts off the tops of his fingers, after which he fell, but died not till the eight blow, his body lay all that day unburied, and no wonder, all men were thoroughly scared, under the tyranny of these Monsters, all Humanity, all Piety, were most unsafe.

Wals.

The Archbishop dyed a Martyr of loyalty to his King, and has his * miracles Recorded, an honour often bestowed by Monkes (friends of Regicide, and Regicides,) on Traitors, seldom given to honest men. In his *Epitaph* (his riming *Epitaph*, where is showne the pittifull ignorant rudenesse of those times)

he

he goes for no lesse, he speakes thus:

*Sudburia natus Simon jacet hic tumulatus,
Martyrizatus nece pro republica stratus.*

Sudburies Simon here intombed lies,
Who for the *(ommonwealth* a Martyr dies.

It is fit (sayes *Plato*) that he who would
appeare a just man, become naked, that his
virtue be despoiled of all ornament, that
he be taken for a wicked man by others
(wicked indeed) that he be mocked, and
banged. The wisest of men tell us, † There † Eccles. 7.
is a just man that perissheth in his righteous- 85.
nesse, and there is a wicked man that pro-
longeth his life in his wickednesse. The
Seas are often calme to Pirates, and the
scourges of God, the executioners of his
fury, the *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, and *Vandalls* here-
tofore, *Tartars* and *Turkes* now, how hap-
py are their Robberies, how doe all things
succeed with them beyond their wishes !
Our Saviours Passion, the great mysterie of
his Incarnation lost him to the Jewes his
Murtherers. Whereupon *Grotius* notes, It
is often permitted by God, that pious men
be not onely vexed by wicked men, but
murdered too — He gives examples in
Abel, *Isaiah*, and others, the MESSIAH
dyed

*Grot. Sape
à deo per-
mitti, ut pii
ab impijs
non vexen-
tur, sed
in e suis.
sur.*

dyed for the sins of the world, *Ethelbert* and *Saint Edmund* the East-Angles, *Saint Oswald* the Northumbrian, *Saint Edward* the Monarch, &c. Saxon Kings, are examples at home.

Thucydides in his narration of the defeat and death of *Nician* the Athenian in *Syeily*, speaks thus: *Being the man who of all the Grecians of my time had least deserved to be brought to so great a degree of misery.* It is too frequent to proclaim Gods Judgments in the misfortunes of others, as if we were of the Celestiall Councell, had seen all the Wheels, or Orbs, upon which Providence turns, and knew all the reasons and ends which direct and govern its motions: men love by a strange abstraction to separate Facts from their Crimes; where the fact is beneficiall, the advantage must canonize it, it must be of heavenly offspring, a way to justifie *Cain*, *Abimelech*, *Phocas*, our third *Richard*, *Ravillac*, every lucky parricide whatsoever.

Alexander Severus that most excellent Emperour assassinated by the Militia or Souldiery, by an ill fate of the Commonwealth (for *Maximinus* a Thracian or Goth, Lieutenant Generall of the Army, a cruell Savage tyrant, by force usurped the Empire after him) Replied, to one who pretended

pretended to foretell his end ; That it troubled him not, the most renowned persons in all ages die violently. This gallant Prince condemned no death but a dishonest fearfull one. Heaven it selfe declared on the Archbishops side, and cleared his innocency. *Starling of Essex*. who challenged to himselfe the glory of being Heads man, fell mad suddenly after, ran through the Villages with his Sword hanging naked upon his brest, and his Dagger naked behinde him came up to *London*, confest freely the fact, and lost his head there ; As most of those did. who had laid their hands upon this Archbishop. coming up severally out of their Countreies to that City, and constantly accusing themselves for the Parricide of their spirituall Father. Nothing was now unlawfull, there could be no wickednesse after this ; They make more examples of barbarous cruelty under the name of Justice.

Robert Lord Prior of St. John, and Lord Treasurer of *England*, *John Leg*, or *Laige* one of the Kings serjeants at Armes, a *Franciscan*, a Physician belonging to the Duke of *Lancaster* (whom perhaps they hated because they had wronged his Master) a Frier *Carmelite*, the Kings Confessor were murdered there in this fury.

Whole

Whose heads with the Archbishops, were borne before them through *London* streets, and advanced over the Bridge.

This while the *King* was softning the Rebels of *Essex* at *Mile-end*, with the Earles of *Salisbury*, *Warwick*, and *Oxford*, and other Lords. Thither by Proclamation he had summoned them, as presuming the *Essexians* to be the more civilized, and by much the fairer enemies, as indeed they were. There he promises to grant them their desires, *Liberty*, *precious Liberty* is the thing they aske, this is given them by the *King*, but on condition of good behaviour. They are to cease their burning, and destruction of Houses, to returne quietly to their homes, and offend no man in their way. Two of every Village were to stay as Agents behinde for the *Kings* Charters, which could not be got ready in time. Farther the *King* offers them his *Banners*.

Essex.

Some of the were simple, honest people, of no ill meaning, who knew not why the Garboils were begun; nor why they came thither. These were won, and win others; without more Air those of *Essex* returne whence they came. *Tyler* and *Baal* are of another spirit, they would not part so easily, *Tyler* the future *Monarch*, who had designed

designed an *Empire* for himselfe, and was now, *sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus*, famous for his villenies and haughtie, would not put up so, he and his Kentish rabble tarry. The next day being Saturday the 17 of June, was spent as the other dayes of their tyranny, in Burning, Ruining houses, Murthers, and Depopulations.

The night of this day the Idol and his Priest upon a new resolution; intended to have struck at the neck of the Nation, to have Murthered the King (*the Achan of the Tribes*) probably by beheading, the death these parricides had used hitherto, the Lords, Gentlemen, the wealthiest and honestest part of the Citizens, then to have pillaged their Houses, and fired the City in four parts, they intended this but to avoid odious partnership in the exploit, and that those of *Northfolke, Suffolke*, and other parts might not share in the spoile. This Counsell of destruction was against all policy, more profit might have been made of this City by *Excise, Assessment*, and *Taxes* upon the *Trade*, *Tyler* might sooner have enriched himselfe, and have been as secure. Estate makes men losly, fear and poverty, if we may trust *Machiavel*, bend and supple, every man had been in danger,

danger, and obnoxious to him, one *Clowne* had awed a street. Near the Abby-Church at *Westminster*, was a Chappell with an image of the *Virgin Mary*, this Chappell was called the Chappell of our Lady, in the Piew, it stood near the Chappell of *S. Steph.* since turned from a Chappell to the Parliament house, here our Lady then (who would not believe it) did great miracles. *Richards* preservation at this time was no small one, being in the hands of the multitude, let loose, and intraged. There he makes his vowes of safety, after which he rides towards these Sonnes of perdition under the Idol *Tyler*.

Tyler, who meant to consume the day in Cavills, protests to those who were sent by the *King* to offer those of *Kent* the same peace, which the *Essex* *Clownes* had accepted, That he would willingly embrace a good and honest *Peace*, but the *Propositions* or *Articles* of it were only to be dictated by himselfe. He is not satisfied with the *Kings* Charters, Three draughts are presented to him, no substance, no forme would please, he desires an *accommodation*, but he will have *Peace*, and *truth* together. He exclaims that the *liberty* there is deceitfull, but an empty name, that while the *King* talkes of *liberty*, he is actually levying
Warre,

Warre, setting up his Standard against his Commons, that the good Commons are abused to their owne ruine, and to the miscarriage of the great undertaking, that they have with infinite paines and labour acquainted the King with their humble desires, who refuses to joyn with them, misled; and carried away by a few evill and rotten-hearted Lords and Delinquents, contrary to his Coronation Oath; by which he is obliged to passe all Lawes offered him by the Commons (whose the Legislative power is) which deniall of his if it be not a forfeiture of his trust and office (both which are now uselesse) it comes neare it, and he is fairely dealt with, if he be not deposed, which too might be done without any want of modesty or duty, and with the good of the Common-wealth, The happinesse of the Nation not depending on him, or any of the Regall Branches. I will deliver the Nation from the Norman slavery, and the world (sayes he) of an old silly superstition, That Kings are onely the Tenants of Heaven, obnoxious to God alone, cannot be condemned and punished by any power else, I will make (here he lied not) an wholesome President to the world formidable to all tyrannes, I declare, That Richard Plantagenet, or Richard of Bourdeaux, at this time is not in a condition to

E

govern,

governe, I will make no addressees, no applications to him, nor receive any from him; though I am but a dry bone, too unworthy for this great calling, yet I will finish the work. I will settle the Government without the King and against him, and against all that take part with him, which sufficiently justifies our Arms. God with Us, sayes he, owns them, successe manifests the righteousness of our cause, this is (sayes he) the voyce of the people, by us their Representative, and our Counsell. After the Vote of no more Addressees, which with all their other Votes of treasons were to be styled the resolution of the whole Realm; and while he swells in this ruffle, Sir John Newton a Knight of the Court, is sent to intreat rather than invite him to come to the King then in Smithfield; where the Luols Regiments were drawn up, and treat with him, concerning the additionall Provisions he desired to be inserted into the Charter.

No observance was omitted which might be thought pleasing to his Pride (wh ch pride was infinitely puffing.) Flattery was sweet to him, and he had enough of it, that made him bow a little, when nothing else could doe it. We may judge at the unreasonablenesse of all his demands, and supplies of new Articles out of his in-

stru

strument, by one. He required of the King a Commission to impower himselfe and a Committee teame of his owne choosing, to cut off the heads of Lawyers and Escheators, and of all those, who by reason of their knowledge, and place were any way employed in the Law. He fancied if those who were learned in the Law, were knocked ith'head, all things would be ordered by the common people, either there would be no law, or that which was should be declared by him and his, subject to their will, with which his expression the day before did well agree; Then, attributing all things to God (the God of Warre) and his conquering Armes, and striking his Sword (which shewed the present power) on London-stone,

The Cyclops, or Centaur of Kent spake *Walsingham*. these words: From this day (or within four dayes) all Law (or all the Lawes of Engl. as others) shall fall from *Wat Tylers* mouth. The King; indeed had bound themselves, and were bound by the Lawes. They were named in them. Tyler was more than a King, he was an Emperour, he was above the Lawes; nor was it fit the old overworn *Magna Charta* should hold him. The supreme Authority and legislative power (no one knowes how derived)

* Potius
gladiator
quam sena-
tor.

were to be, and reside in him, according to the new establishment, Tyler like Homers Mars, *καίλαπις* $\tau\omicron\varsigma\Theta$, was a whirlwinde, he was * *Egnatius in Paternulus*, rather a Fencer, a Swash buckler than a Senator; his right Arm, his brutish force, not Justice, not reason must sway all things; Tyler will not rule in fetters, his will, his violence shall be called Law, and grievous slavery under that will, falsely peace. Had those, whom no government never so sweet, and gracious will please, unless the *Supream* power be given the people, seen the confusions and dangers, the cruelty and tyranny of these few dayes, they would quickly have changed this opinion.

The Knight performes his Embassy, he urges the Idol with great earnestness to see the King and speedily. He answers if thou beest so much for hast, get thee back to the King thy Master, I will come when I list, yet he followes the Knight on Horse back, but slowly. In the way, he is met by a Citizen who had brought sixty doublets for the Commons, upon the *Publique Faith*. This Citizen asks him for his mony, he promises payment before night, & presses on so near the King that his horse touched the croupe of the Kings horse.

Froissart reports his discourse to the King.

King, Sir *King* (sayes the Idol) seest thou yonder people? The *King* answers yes, and askes him what he meanes by the question. He replyes, th y are all at my command, have sworne to my Faith, and Truth, to doe what I will have them. He and they had broke their Faith and truta to their Prince, and he thinkes these men will be true to h m. Here though it be a digression too much, I cannot omit a passage of the late C vlll Warres of *France*, begun and continued by th *Jesuites* party to ex. ir- *D'Avila*.
pate the royall Family there.

Villers Governour of *Rouen* for the holy League, tells the Duke of *Mayen* Capitaine General of the Rebellion, That he would not obey him; they were both companions and spoilers of the State together: The *King* being levelled, all men else ought to be equall.

The idoll, as he that demanded (so the Knight) nothing but Riot, continues his discourse (thus) Believe t thou *King*, that these people will depart without thy Letters? The *King* tells him, He means fairly, that he will make good his word, his Letters are neare finished, and they shall have them. But the glory of the Idoll (which was merely the benefit of fortune) began to fade, i. i. principally was to

Cruell, too violent to be lasting. Vengeance here hovered over his head, and he who had been the destruction of multitudes hastens, nay precipitates his own fate, and ruins himself by his own fury, he puts himself into the *Kings* power, who should in his first tawring, had he been wisely wicked, like a Vulture of the Game, have flown at his throat. * The judicious point que will not begin to give over ; However, will never venture himself in the *Princes* hands whom he has justly offended by treasons against his government.

* *In magnis principum. injuriis non incipitur ut desistatur.*

† *Grand fete Com.*

† *Charles of Burgundy* confesses this to be a great folly ; his Grandfather *Philip* lost his life at *Montrean* upon the *Tonne* by it, and our Idoll shall not escape better.

Sir *John Newton* the Knight imployed to fetch him, delivered his message on horseback, which is now remembred, and taken for an high neglect ; besides, it seemeth the carriage and words of the Knight were not very pleasing. Every trifle in omission was treason to the Idols person, and new state. He railes foully, drawes his Dagger, and bellowing out, *Traitor*, menaces to strike the Knight, who returns him in exchange the like ; and not to be behinde in blowes, drawes his : This the Idol takes for

for an intolerable affront, but the King fearfull of his servant, cooles and asswages the heat; he commands the Knight to dismount, and offer up his Dagger to the Idol, which (though unwillingly) was done.

This would not take off his edge: The Prince who yeilds once to a R. beil, shall finde hests of requests, and must deny nothing. The King had given away his *Knights* Dagger: now nothing will content *Tyler* but the *Kings* Sword, with which the *Militsa* or power of *Armes* impliedly was sought. This he asks, then againe rushes upon the *Knight*, vowing never to eat till he have his Head.

When the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdome, whom neither necessity nor misery could animate, lie downe trampled on by these Villaines without Soule, or motion; In comes the Major of *London*, *St. William Walworth*, the everlasting honour of the Nation, a man who over did *ages* of the *Roman Scaevola*, or *Curtii* in an hours action, & snatches the King & Kingdome out of these flames. He tells the King it would be a shame to all posterity to suffer more insolencies from this Hangman, this lump of bloud. This the rest of the Courtiers now wakened by their owne
 E 4 danger,

danger, (For he who destroyes one man contrary to Law or Justice, gives all men else reason to feare themselves and take heed) are echoes to. This puts daring into the young *King*; he resolves to hazard all upon this chance: This way he could not but die kingly, at least, like a Gentleman, with the Sword, which God (of whose great Majesty he was a beam) gave him in his hand. The onely way left to avoid a shamefull death, was to run the danger of a brave one, and a wise coward (I will not say an honourable one) considering the incertainty of things under that Iron focke Tereure would think so.

The *King* commands the Major to arrest the Butcher: This was charge enough, and rightly understood, indeed there was then no time for forme nor tryall, the suspension of the Courts was *Tylers* act, his crime, and he ought not to look for any advantage from it: an Historian sayes the Duke of *Gayle's* power was so much, that the ordinary formes of Justice could not be observed; faire Law is handsome, but it is not to be given to Wolves and Tygers. *Tyler* was a traytour, a common enemy; and against such (sayes a Father long gone) ev'ry man is a Souldier; who for ever a Black too, struch as much in his owne defence,

Grout. fur.
B. 4. v. 1. r.
24.

defence, in his owne preservation, as the Kings: and the safety of the King and People made this course necessary; besides, *Tylers* crimes were publick and notorious.

The generous Lord Major obeyes the sentence, which was given by the same power, by which the Judges of Courts sate and acted when Justice flowed down from the fountaine in the ordinary channell, and which, the damme head being thus troubled by this Wolfe, could flow no otherwise, which was authority sufficient; by this power *Richards* Captaines must fight when he has them, and kill those whom the Courts of Justice cannot deal with: *Tyler* faints, and shrinkes to what he had beene, he was as cowardly as cruell, and could not seem a man in any thing but that he was a thief, and a rebell; he asks the brave Major in what he was offended by him; This was a strange question to an honelt man, he finds it so. The Major (says *Froissart*) calls him false stinking knave, and tells him he shall not speake such words in the presence of his naturall Lord the King. The Major answers in full upon the accursed Sacrilegious Head of the Idol with his Sword. He struck heartily, and like a faithful zealous subject. *Dagon of the Clownes*
sinks

sinks at his feet. The *Kings* followers environ him round, *John Standish* an Esquire of the Court, alights, and runs him into the belly, which thrust sent him into another World, to accompany him who taught Rebellion, and murder first. Event was then no signe of a good cause.

All History now brands him for a Traitor, which by some will be attributed to his miscarriage: without doubt had he prospered in the *Work*, he had had all the honours which goe along with prosperity. The *King* had beene the wrong doer, and his afflictions, if nothing in so much youth could have beene found out, had beene crimes; we must overpower those whom we would make guilty. *Henry* the great of *France* under the *Popes* interdict, is told by a Gentleman, Sir, if we be overcome, we shall dye condemned hereticks, if your Majesty conquer, the censures shall be revoked, they will fall of themselves. He who reads the mischiefes of his usurpation will thinke he perished too late.

Now I come to an Act of *Richards*, the most glorious of his History, which the *Annals* past can no where parallel, here his infancy excells his after man-hood. Here, and in the gallantry of his death he appears a full Prince, and perhaps vies with

ut rem sit
vincendus
est.

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Rich

with all the bayes of his usurpers triumphs.

Alexander the Monarch of the world, (Not more wondered at for his victories, then for that suppressing the Sedition of his *Macedons* in *Asia*, tired, and unable to march, whither his ambition carried him on wings) leaps from his Throne of State, into the Battels of his *Phalanges* enraged, Seizes thirteene of the chiefe malecontents, and delivers them to the custody of his Guards. *Curtius* knowes not what he should impute this amazement of the Seditious to, every man returning upon it to his old duty, and obedience, and ready to yeild himselfe up into the same hands: it might be (sayes he) The veneration of the Majesty of *Kings*, which the Nations submitted under, worship equally with the Gods, or of himselfe which laid the tempest. That confidence too of the Duke *Alessandro* of *Parma*, in a mutiny of the German *Raiders* at *Namures* is memorable, who made his way with his Sword alone through the points of all their Lances, into the middest of their Troops, and brought thence by the collar one of the Mutineers whom he commanded to be hang'd to the terror of the rest. The youth of *Richard* begat rather contempt, than reverence,

Lib.

rence, of which too these *Clownes* breaste were never very full: When the fall of the Idol was known to the rout, they put themselves into a posture of defence, thunder out nothing but vengeance to the King and his, whom they now arraign of Murder and Tyanny: He is guilty of *Innocent blood*; a *Tyrant*, a *Traitour*, an *Homicide*, the *publique Enemy of the Common Wealth*. Richard Plantaginet is indicted in the name of the people of England of treason, and other heynous crimes. He is now become lesse than *Tylers Ghost*, a *Traitour* to the *Freeborne people*.

Walsingh.
Capitaneus
voster.

His treason was, he would not destroy himselfe, he would not open his body to *Tylers* full blow. They roare out, our *Captaine Generall* is slaine treacherously, let us stand to it, and revenge his precious blood, or die with him: I cannot passe this place without some little wonder; had these *Ruffians* (with whom Kings hedged about by holy Scripture, and Lawes humane, are neither divine nor sacred) beene asked whether *Tyler* the Idol, of their own clay and hands, might have been tryed, touched or struck, according to their representing this blow here: let his tyrannies, his exorbitances have beene what they would, they would have answer'd no doubt
in

in the negative : Though *Richard* might have been struck thorough and thorough, *Tyler* who had usurped his power, must have been sacred, it must have been treason to touch him : *Phocas* must not be hurt : in *Tyler's* case *Straw* would allow the old texts againe: The powers were to be obeyed. Their bowes were drawne, when the *King* gallops up to them alone, and riding round the throng, asks them, What madness it was that armed them thus against their own peace, and his life, whether they would have no end of things or demands.

He tells them if *Liberty* be their onely aim, as hitherto they have pretended, they may assure themselves of it, and that it is an extreme folly to seek to make that our owne with the breach of Faith, of Lawes, with impieties, violating God and Man, which we may come by fairely. But they trod not the path to *Liberty*, That where every man commands, no man can be free; the *Liberty* too they fancy cannot be had, the world cannot subsist without Order and Subjection, men cannot be freed from Lawes : If they were, there could be no society, no civility any where, Men must be shunned as much as Wolves or Beares, rapine and blood-shed would over-run the world, the spoyler must feare the next comer,

comer, like savage beasts, who hurt others, and know not it is ill to hurt them; men would devour men, the stronger Thiefe would swallow up the rest; no Relations would be sacred, where every man has the power of the Sword, the aged fire (could there be any such) must defend his silver haire from the unnaturall violence of his own Sons.

He addes, if there can be any just cause of Sedition, yet is the Sedition unjust which outlasts it, which continues, when the cause is yeilded to, and taken away; that if his Prerogative has beens sometimes grievous, his tax's heavy, and any of those they call evill Counsellours faulty, they ought to remember, in their first risings, and all along in all their *Oathes*, and *Covenants*, they swore continually not to invade the Monarchy, nor touch the Rights of his free Crowne. You ought to remember your own Remonstrances; you once declared, that you acknowledged the Maxime of the Law, *The King can doe no wrong; If any ill be committed in matters of State, the Counsellors; if in matters of Law, the Judges must answer for it*—My person was not to be violated. He expect they should deale with him, as the honest Husbandman does in overflows of Waters, who clears and

and drains his ground, repaires the bankes, but does not usurp upon the streame, does not inhanche within the Channell ; And farther that quarrels to his Government and Lawes are unreasonable from those, who out of ambition arme to overthrow both, that reformation is not the worke of Sedition, which ever disorders what is well settled. He conjures them to forsake these furies, who, sayes he, abuse their lightness meerely for their owne ends, whose companions or masters they were lately, now are they but their Gaurds, and that if they refuse a subjection according to all Lawes Divine and humane to his Sc pter, they must become slaves and tributaries to their Iron, to the Flailes and Pitchforkes of some Mushrome of their owne dirt, and that advancing their Mushrome, thus upon his power by the wayes of force. gives an example to the next tumults against themselves.

There can be no safety for any new power raised upon this force, the obedience to that upon these Rules being limited, and annexed to the force, and success, and to yeild, and give way to the next power visible which shall overbeare it. A way to thrust a Nation into a state of War, continuall perjury and impiety to the Worlds

*Non est
diuturna
possessio in
quam gla-
dio induci-
mur. Curr.*

Worlds end. This Realm (as he goes on) is my inheritance, which I tooke possession of after the death of my Grand-father, being a child, and did I claime onely by your gift (which I shall neve- grant) yet are not you free, to make a new choice, you are bound to me by *Oathes* and *Contracts*, and no right of new complance or remission can be left you to transference. He concludes, That despair was a dangerous sinne, which would drive them head-long to destruction ; That whatsoever their offences had been, they were not above his mercy.

He bids them not trouble themselves for *Tyler*, a base fellow who thrust them into dangers, and blew them into a storme to raise himselfe upon the billowes, upon the ruines of his Country. He promises to lead them, he will be their Captaine, if they will follow him he will please them in all their desires. This he spake, to draw them off farther into *Smithfield*, fearing they would againe fall to burning of houses. They now wanted their Devill, who possessed them, and being in doubt whether they should kill the King, or returne home with his Charters, there being no incendiary to command, follow the King in suspence ; *Bail* and *Straw* about this time amazed at
the

the Idols fall, lose courage and slip away. In the meane time the stout Major spurres to the City with one servant, where in a few words he acquaints the Citizens with the Kings perill and his owne, and requests their sudden assistance, if not for himselfe, for the King, who (sayes he) is in danger now to be murdered. Some loyall hearts, some good men of the Kings party arme, *Wals.* and joyn, to the number of one thousand, *Froiss.* and range themselves in the street, expecting some of the Cavaliers, of the Kings Knights to conduct them, resolved either to overcome, or not to feare the Conquerours.

Sir Robert Knowles, a renowned Commander in the French Warres of the Kings Grandfather (called faillly *Canol* by *Polydor*, and others) undertakes this charge. Sir *Perducas D' Albret* (called *D' Albreth*) a noble Gascoigne and a Commander too in those Warres, *Nicholas Brembre* the Kings Draper, and other Aldermen, come in with their Levies, and march to the King in sight of the Rebels. There the King Knights the brave *Wil: Walworth*, *John Standish*, one of his Esquires, *Nicholas Brembre*, *John Philpot*, (a most generous Citizen, famous for his faithfull service to his Prince in the times succeeding)

F and

and others. The Nobility about the King desire him to strike off an hundred or two of the Clowns heads, in revenge of the injuries and infamy they had received from them. Sir *Robert Knowles* would have him fall on, and cut them all to pieces. The King dislikes both these counsels; He sayes many of these unhappy men were awed to side, without either malice to his Person or Power; and that if the first advise were taken, the most innocent might be punished, and the guilty scape; If the second, the very Rebel and the Counterfeit (the forced one) must be swallowed up together, which was high injustice. Yet were there many of these Rebels called to account, and their acts of blood, rapine and burning coit them deare; but these acts of theirs done against Law, were punished legally, upon the finding of Juries. when the Tumults were composed: Which was faire and handsome, and shewes the honourable justice of our King. All that was done against them that night, was, to forbid the Citizens by Proclamation to entertain any of these men in the City, or communicate with them; and to command all men who had not dwelt there for one yeare before, to depart:

So farre was the young King from approving

proving the cruelty of the *Lies* counsels; that in the next place, he causes the Charters, which he had promised them to be delivered; yet some may suppose this but a pardon of shew, and the pardon-piece of the Charters, as well as the other part, rather a piece of policy than any thing else, the Countries being yet tumultuous, the Clownes were upon their good behaviour, that was a condition of their pardon, which they would not observe, they commit new outrages, break the Kings Laws, & pluck down the vengeance of Justice upon their heads afresh, they did not give over their mischiefs after their return sayes, *Wals.* By the King and his Counsell, the Charters, as extorted out of force, and necessity, were recalled; and though the Meynie generally were pardoned, the King (again provoked) staid but for a fit time to take vengeance on the Ring-leaders, and punish particular offenders who could not be forgiven: It being necessary in so desperate a Revolt for the terrour of others, to make examples of some such malicious disturbers of the peace, as would never have been reclaimed. The Kings Charters contained a Manumission of the Villains, and abolition of the memory of what was past for the rest. The tenor, sayes *Walsing-*

ham, of the Charters extorted from the King by force, was this, (he gives us onely that of Hartfordshire the Province of his Monastery.)

Richard by the Grace of God King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, to all his Bailies, and others his trusty, to whom these Letters shall come, greeting. Know yee that we of our speciall grace have made free all our Lieges, and every of our subjects of Hartfordshire, and we free those, and every of them from all * bondage, and quit them by these presents, and also we pardon the same our Lieges, and subjects, for all Felonies, Treasons, Trespases, and extortions by them, or any of them, in any wise done, or committed, and also every Outlary, or Outlaries, if any against them, or any of them, are or shall be published, and our full peace to them or any of them, therefore we grant, in witnesse whereof these our Letters we have caused to be made Patents. Witnesse our selfe at London the 15. day of Junc, the 4th yeare of our Reigne.

* Ab omni
bondagio.

This

This Charter was granted about the time the *Clownes* of *Essex* disbanded, and received theirs, it was brought into *Hartfordshire* to Saint *Albanes* by *Wallingford* one of the Towne; * Friday sayes *Wallingham* the day of tribulation, &c. *Illucescent die Veneris.* 41 (which was the 16 of *June*) the Townsmen of Saint *Albanes* being at the time of Matines acquainted by those of *Barnet* with the command of the Ordinance or Act for repairing to *London* presently with the Esquires of the Abbot set forth; So that I conceive the day of this Charter is mistaken in it by the Monke.

The *Clownes* throw down their Armes at the Kings feet, sue for mercy, and deliver up their chiefs; the principall of which Priest *Straw* was after drawne from his hiding holes, and laid hold of by the Kings Officers. What became of them we shall see below, in the visitation made by the King, and his Ministers, through the Provinces in uproare.

The Commons of *Kent* now scatter and dissolve, the heads of the Archbishop, Lord Prior, and the rest, are taken down from the bridge, and the Idols advanced there; That *Baal* should now be taken in an old house is an errour of the Knights; *Baal* Froiss. 50. must take his turn, but he shall have a long-

ger runne for it. That the dagger should now be given in honour of Sir *William Walworth* as an addition to the City armes is Fabulous, this dagger is the Sword of St. *Paul*, and was borne by the City when *Tyler* was living.

Froiss.

The *King* now rides to *Westminster* where he gives God thanks for his deliverance, and presents his offering to the Virgin *Mary*, in her Chappell of the Piew, next he visits the Princeesse mother in the Tower Royall. called the Queenes Wardrobe, and bids her rejoyce, for (sayes he) this day I have recovered mine heritage, the Realme of *England* near lost, the Lords returne to their owne houses. The other Countries now in combustion, and upon their march to *London*, make halt, they were thunder-strucken at the disaster of the Idol, they hated the fortune not the wickednesse of that monster, And tarry to poure out those plagues at home, if they be not checked, which before they intended to carry farther off. The example and successe of the Idol had moved with many, but his invitation, and sollicitation by the Emisseries of this confederacy and spirit more. The Sectaries, or ringleaders of the burden iustick raggamuffins in the severall Provinces of the association (while *Tyler* was

was thus busied in the chiefe seat of his new Dominions) promote the cause, and pursue the instructions of the Prince of Devils, they were all to tread his steps, as we shal finde in what followes.

I have before spoken of the Summons of the I ol to fetch the bordering rogues in- to the *Line of Communication* who were to serve as *Auxiliaries* onely, to strengthen *Tyler*, rather than to enrich themselves, and likely to be casheered, and cast off when he had perfected his *Works*: amongst these rake hells were the Towns-men of *Saint Albane* with the *Abbots* servants shuffled in the throng of purpose to oversee and awe the *Clownes* from the new fangles of our fanaticks; These, as is related, were sworne to the *Ingagement* at *Heibury*; whence they come to *London*, whither they are no sooner got, but the Towns men separate from the servants of the Monastery, and in *St. Mary-bow* Church does their profane Conventicle consult how to make advantage of the tumult:

The lewd
prankes of
the Clownes
at *Saint
Albanes*.

And what pretences of revolt from their Lord *Abbot* would seem most faire, and taking. Here they make not the causes of their disobedience, they were hatched secretly amongst themselves, they deliberate how to perfect things, how to come

to effects. The enlarging the bounds of their common, free fishing, hunting in certaine places, when they pleased, and Hand-mills, that the Bailly of the Liberty shall no more meddle within the Precincts of the Towne, the revocation of Charters prejudiciall to the *Free-borne* Burgessees, cancelling the Bonds of their Fore-fathers made to *Abbot Richard*, are the Propositions first voted.

One, who would be wiser than the rest, perswades them not to attempt things rashly, and giddily, without authority, he tells them that *Wat Tyler*, *Protector* and *Captaine Generall* of the *Clownes* was near, that the *Protector*, was a righter of wrongs raised, and inspired by providence to redeeme the faithfull *Commons* from the thraldome of the wicked, *At the suite* of the godly party, sayes he, *Tyler* has accepted the Government, he is to govern the two Nations; The *Supream* executive Power resides in him, from him (sayes he) and from the keepers of the liberties let us seek for remedy.

Let us make our addresses to him, let us seeke to his *Highnesse* for power, and Commission; This he said (as *Walsingham* writes) supposing a grezter than *Tyler* should not be seene in the Kingdome, that

Tylers

Wals.
Ducem ri-
baldorum,
ut accepta
ab eo pote-
state, &c.

Tylers greatnesse for the time to come
 would onely be eminent ; That the Lawes ^{Wals.}
 of the Land (the most antient English,
 Saxon Lawes) would be of no force, of no
 validity, because the most of the Lawyers
 were already murdered, and the rest in
 their account not long lived, the Axes edge
 was turned towards them. He concludes,
 let us returne home, and in the puissance of
Wat, and our selves, force the *Abbot* to
 reason ; If he deny our requests, we will
 awe him with burning and demolishing
 the Monastery, with killing the Monkes,
 we will threaten not to leave one stone up-
 on another ; Others conceive it more safe
 to petition the *King* (who might be spoken
 with by every man, and durst refuse no-
 thing) for his Letters under the Privy Seale,
 commanding the *Abbot*, to restore to the
 Towns-men the rights, and Liberties which
 their ancestours enjoyed in the time of
 King *Henry* the first; as if the English
 Church had beene lately indowed, the Mo-
 nasteries founded, their Royalties, Liber-
 ties, Priviledges granted by the *Norman*
 Princes, than which nothing could be more
 false. The most Christian Saxon Kings of
 blessed memory, twelve of which died
 Martyrs of the Faith, ten shine glorious
 Starres in the Calender of Saints, were all
 nursing

nursing Fathers of the Church, scarcely was there one in the illustrious rolle, who gave not Lands and Possessions with Exemptions, and Immunities to the Church, who erected not Bishopricks, or Monasteries into which thirty of our crowned, heads, *Kings*, or *Queenes* entred, the superstition of the age then ought not to blemish their Party: The *Mercian King Offa*, his Son *Ecgfrid*. King *Ethelred*, King *Edward*, are the founders and donours of *St. Albanes*. what King *Henry* the first did for the Towne I cannot say, nor how ample its Liberties were then, this is true, he confirms the grants of the *Saxon Princes*, to the Monastery, and addes the Norman seale to strengthen the *Saxon Crosses*, this is all, but truth is not necessary in such uproares, the credulity of a light headed multitude is quickly abused, their duty and obedience easily corrupted without it.

All these grants end with horrible curses against Sacrilege.

To keepe our way; Both these Counsels are approved. *William Greyndcob* an *Hinde*, who had eaten the bread of the Monastery for the most part of his life, is elected with others, and sent on this errand to the King, before whom he kneeles six times out of zeale to prevaile. This Lob too was made principal Prolocutor (sayes *Walsingh.* our Monk) or Speaker to the Idol: before whose

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whose sordid Excellency and his unclane Councell he complains of the grievous tyranny of the Abbot and Prior, (some few Monks are thrust in to make up the number) of the oppressures of the Commons, of withholding the wages of poor Labourers, the design was to rowze the Wolfe.

Tyler meant not to leave *London*, yet he promises, if need be, to send twenty thousand of the *Saints*, who shall not fail to shave the beards of the Abbot and the rest, which signified (in plain English) cutting off their heads.

The gracious *Captaine Generall* was yet more kind; he vowes, if it be convenient, to assist them in his owne person, He gives them directions and orders to governe themselves by, and makes their obedience here, a condition of his love. These Orders were generally enjoined by our English *Mahomet*, through all the Provinces of his Corquest, and were framed according to the Law of his bloody *Alchoran*. He sweares them to omit nothing either in his Commands or Doctrine. A servant of the Abbot, one of the spies upon the Townsmen, rides in full career to *S. Albans* and gives intelligence to the Abbie of the exploits of the New Masters at *London*. He tells them in what manner that out of a
 Capitaine

Captaine (*Tyler*) sullied and polluted with
 the bloud of the Noblesse, had butchered
 the English Patriarch, and the Lord Treas-
 urer. That *London*, the den of these rava-
 nous beasts, falsely called *The Chamber of*
her Kings, was likely now to become the
 Charnelhouse of *Richard*, and his Loyal
 vassals; That these Fiends, who would
 goe for *Saints*, and the onely good *Patriarch*
 commit the acts of Theeves, and Murthe-
 rers, neither reverencing Religion nor
 Lawes: And that the Conquering French,
 who makes faire war, nay the barbarous
 Scot, broke out of the fastnesse of his owne
 Desart, mortall enemies of the Nation,
 could not spoile nor ruine with more cru-
 elty and villanie. No Mercy, sayes he, (yeild
 who will upon mercy) no favour, no good-
 nesse can be expected from this rout of
 Wolves. He bids those pointed at, and na-
 med by *Greyndcob* to *Tyler*, shift for them-
 selves, which they are not long in resolving
 of. The Prior, four Monks, and some of their
 servants, one part horsed, another on foot,
 fly for their lives, not assuring themselves
 till they got to *Tynmouth*, a Priory of this
 Monastery of Saint *Albane* in *Northumber-*
land, *William Greyndcob*, and *William Ca-*
dindon a Baker, on Friday had hastened to
S. Albanes, that they might make the ho-
 nour

pour of the atchievement theirs by first appearing in the action ; these brag aloud of the prosperity of affaires, that they were no more drudges and slaves, but Lords for the time to come ; that they had brought about great and wonderfull feats against the Abbie ; they propose, first to defie the Abber, to renounce all amity and peace with him, then to breake downe his folds and gates in *Falconwood, Eywood*, and his other words, and to pull down the Under-bowlers house, standing over against the Fish-market, and hindering the prospect of the Burgeses and Nobility of the Town, this is their owne style, a Nobility scarce to be parallel'd in the world discovered, unlesse we fetch in the Man-eaters of *Brasil*, who have neither Letters nor Lawes, acknowledge neither God nor Prince.

*Wals. ad
diffiducian-
dum.*

*Subcelleræ
rii.*

This night the first Scene of the Tragedie is acted ; the next day, being Saturday, fall to the Hangman *Tyler* ; the upstart Nobility of Churls assemble and make Proclamation, That no man able to serve his Country, presume to sleight the Lieutenants of the Idol, but that every man furnish himself with such Arms as he can provide, to attend them the Lieutenants in his own defence. The Crew summoned are commanded

manded to presse the Gentry for the service, and to cut off the heads of those who would not joyn with them, and swear to be faithfull to them; beheading, burning houses, forfeiture of goods were menaced to all that would not assist the Forces raised by *Tyler*, and fight the *Lords Battels*, that is, for the *Cause*. This, sayes our Monke, was the charge of their Lord and Master *Wat*, this was his Rubric of blood.

*Cum magna
pompa.*

Next, with great pomps they march to *Fauconwood*; to levell the slips of their halts and night-worke, something they feared might be left whole, upon review when *Root and Branch* were pared and torne up, they retire.

The other Grownolls of the Neighbourhood, subject to the distresse, or Signiory of Saint *Albane*, wait for them; these were cited upon the same threats to meet, and promised bellyfulls, cart loads of *Liberties*. Now or never for the *Liberty of the Subject*, and the power of godlinesse. This supply swells them into huge hopes, it puffs them up. *Greynecob* and *Cadindon* more haughty now than ever; Lead their Battalies, bustling with surly pride and discipline, to the Gates of the Monastery, which with the same loftinesse they command the Porter to set open. Some of the

Com-

company, friends of the house, had given private intelligence to the Abbots of the contrivances against him, who had instructed his servants how to carry themselves towards this rag and rag of Swaines, they observe them punctually.

That they may seeme pious in their entrance, they free the publique Malefactors out of the Abbots prison; but so that they should owe faith hereafter, and grace of the benefit to the *Commons* (a name the most honourable, and which must swallow up all things else) and inseparably stick to them. One of the offenders, whom they suppose unworthy of *Liberty* or life, (growne Judges and Executioners by the same inspiration and spirit) they behead on the ground before the Gates, then fix his head upon the Pillory, roaring with that divelish cry they had learnt at *London*. This was plaine murder by the Law whatsoever this mans crime was, these Rogues were guilty in a most high nature, so that biases the baseness of their condition, they were incapable of any justification by the ancient fundamentall Lawes of *England*, as being Traitors, and out of the Kings faith; but to wave all this, by these ancient Lawes, every prisoner might demand Oyer, hearing of the Judges Commission,

Mir. 114.

mission, these villains had neither authority nor Commission, but from *Tylers* Sword, which was but a derivative of his usurpation. No act of which can be just, the foundation of his tyranny this way, in being just, and illegall at the first,

From the Idols first entrance no act of confirmation or grant was done (could any such act be done and valid) to establish or make a right, by the power which had that right to bestow, he asked for a Commission of life, and death, but was refused, and his arbitrary acts were onely a continuance of his intrusion, and of the violence upon which he began.

To fill up their tattered Regiments, their fellow Leaguers or Covenanters of *Barnet*, *Luton*, *Watford*, and the Townes round enter *St. Albanes*, of the same Sacrilegious affection to the Abby, in all these Conspiracies the Church was the maine mark aimed at, about the carcasses of the Cathedralls and Abbies (they were now nothing else) did these vultures gather; in the same conjuncture of time enters *Richard Walsingham*, head borough or Constable of the place, who carried at *London* for the Kings Letters of Manumission and Pardon, (which *Greynecob* had been so earnest for) bearing the Kings Banner or Pennon of

the Arms of *S. George*, being the red Cross before him, according to the fashion of the *Clownes* of *London*. The *Commons* hearing of his coming, poure themselves out in heaps to meet him. He alights, strikes the *Penon* into the Earth, and bids them keep close and incircle it like a *Standard*. He intreats them to continue about it, and expect his return, and the *Lieutenants* who were resolved with all speed to treat with the *Abbot*, and would suddenly bring them an answer to their propositions. Which said, he and they enter the Church, and send for the *Abbot* to appear before them, and answer the *Commons* (onely sacred then, and to whom all knees were to bow.) The *Abbot* was at first resolute to die for the liberty of his Church, (a pious gallantry which will be admirable) but overcome with the prayers of his *Monkes*, who told him, as things stood, his death could advantage nothing, that these stinking *Knaves*, these *Hell-hounds* were determined to murder the *Monkes*, and burne the *Monastery*, if they had the repulse, and that there was no way of safety but to fall downe before these *Baals*, he yeilds. After he was come to the Church, and a short salutation past; *Wallingford* reaches out to him the *Kings Letter* or *Writ* (as *Walsingham* calls

calls it) in these words, as I have rendred them out of the barbarous French of that age.

B*eloved in God, At the Petition of our loved Lieges of the Towne of St. Albane we will and command you, That certaine Charters being in your custody made by our Progenitor King Henry to the Burgeses and good People of the said Towne of commune of pasture and fishing, and of certain other commodities expressed in the said Charters, in what they say, you doe as Law, and Reason requires, So that they may not have any matter to complaine to us for that Cause. Given under our Signet at London the 15. day of June, the fourth yeare of our Reigne.*

Here certainly againe is a mistake of the day, for till Friday the 16. of June, the Clownes of Saint Albanes (as is observed) stirred not. Thus is the King forced to be the Author of other mens injustice, to consent to those insolencies (and wrongs) which must undoe all those, those who are faithfull to him, to please a base rable,
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ingaged to turn in the end their destroying hands upon himfelfe and his royall Family, The Abbot receives the Letter with due reverence, and reads it: then thinking to worke upon the consciences of these Helhounds, he begins a discourse of Law Reason, Equity, and Justice; Law and Reason were the princely bounds betwixt which the Kings commands ran. He tells them whatsoever was demanded by them, had beene long agoe determined in the Courts of Justice, by the publick Judges, persons knowing, and honourable, sworn to doe equall right.

That the Records were kept amongst the Kings Rolls at *Westminster*, whence he inferred, That according to the Lawes antiently in use, they had neither right nor claime left: he addes, the usurpation upon anothers propriety is tyranny in the abstract; it is the greatest injustice: the very heathens will have it unnaturall to enrich our selves, to make our advantage from Spoyle and robbery, but force is odious to God and man, that aggravates the sinne; violence is a more heynous crime than theft. This was ridiculous wisdom, considering who they were the good Abbot spake to, he had forgot perhaps how *Antigonius* armed to invade and seize the Ci-

ties, and Countries of other Princes, laughed at the serious grave folly of one, who presented him with a tractate of Justice. *Wallingsford* with his hand upon his Sword takes him off pertinently, as reflecting upon the manners of men, whose treasons prosper, and practise of the times; In which new men did not advance themselves by Vertue, by Learning, by Justice, or Valour, but by Murder and Robbery.

My Lord (sayes he) every story is not true, because it is eloquently told, you endeavour here to inveigle and deceive us in a long discourse of equity, of Law, and Justice, we come not hither for words but things, we pretend not to refute your reasons, (which are but unjust defences of your oppression, but cunning subtilities, but colours to paint ore the wrongs you doe us,) nor can we; the rudenesse of our education must disable us for this part, we have beene borne and bred under your Dominion, slaves, and Villens to you, under a Dominion so unmanly cruell, you have alwayes kept us deprived, not onely of all meanes of learning or knowledge, but would willingly have taken away our very reason and common understanding; that we might grone under our miseries, with the feeling of beasts, but be Masters
neither

neither of sence nor language for a complaint.

It is time now that we of the *Commonalty* as you call and range us, should take our turne of command, however of *Liberty*. Nor is this to be wondered at if you consider our strength, and the happinesse of the new *Modell*, the eminency of the Commons is visible to every eye, theirs is the present, theirs is the *Supream Power*, we are armed, and we will not thinke of the Lawes, not regard them, they onely submit to Lawes, who want power to helpe themselves. Besides these Lawes you tell us of, are but the will of our enemies in forme and rule, they were made by them, they favour them; And our Captaine Generall *Tyler*, who has conquered *Perq; utrum sonipes hic matris agendus.* (a sad unhappy word, where it is used of one part of a Nation against another, and of *Benjamin* against *Israel*, by the worst and least against the better and greater) the makers of them, the Law-givers, was so become above the Lawes themselves; your reasons, when these Lawes were backed with force, when *your King* could protect you, before our successe, might have served well enough; Now we expected them not, nor will we accept them.

He concludes in perswasion, not to exasperate the *godly party*, the righteous *Commons*, who sayes he will not be appeased, will not give over, not lay downe Armes till they be Masters of their desires.

The Abbot, entring into a new speech, is againe stopped, and told, the thousand before the doores of his Monastery sent for him not to parly, but consent, which they looke he should be sudden in, if not we (sayes *Wallingford*) the Lieutenants, chosen by the *Captaine representatives of the people*. will deliver up and resigne the powers to him, which we received of him. We have voted, if you comply not, to send for the Captaine Generall Tyler, and twenty thousand of his *Militia* to the danger of this place, and of the Monkes heads.

The Abbot here recites his good deeds, how often in their necessities he had relieved them, he had beene (he sayes) their spirituall Father thirty two yeares, in all which time, no man had beene grieved, or oppressed by him, this giving impliedly the lie to *Wallingford*, they grant, but will not be denied. The Obligations and Characters which they require, are delivered them, which they burne in the Market-place, neare the Crosse; This did not content them, they aske for an ancient Char-

ter concerning the Towne Liberties, the
 capitall Letters of which (say they) were
 one of Gold, another of Azure; * The **De aqurio*
 Abbot prays them to be satisfied for the
 time, he protests, they have all he has to
 give them, he knew of no more, yet he
 would make a search, and if any such deed
 could be found, it should faithfully be deli-
 vered to them; This too was the answer
 of the *Covent*; it was agreed that the Abbot
 should after dinner disclaime under his
 hand and seale in all things prejudiciall to
 their Liberty. In memory of an old suite
 betwixt Abbot *Richard* the first, and the
 Townsmen in the reignes of *William* the
 second, and *Henry* the first, wherein the
 Townsmen were overthrown, were laid
 Millstones before the doore of the * Parler. **Locutorii.*
 These *John* the Barber with others tooke
 away, as a token of victory over the Law;
 these they break into small pieces, and di-
 stribute amongst the worthies, as the sacred
 Bread is given in the *Eucharist*.

Who could forbear teares (sayes *Wal. Wals.*
ingham) heavily bewailing these changes,
 to see servants command their Lords, who
 know not how to rule, nor how to pity.
 To see *London* (once the noble head of
 our Cities) become a stie for uncleane
 Swine. Who would not tremble to heare
 G 4 that

that the Archbishop and the Lord Treasurer should be offered viſtimes to wicked ſpirits, to the Kentiſh Idol, the Kentiſh *Saturne* or *Moloch*, and his Hob-goblins in the miſt of the Kingdome. Nay (ſayes he) whoſe heart would it not have wounded through to have ſeene the King of *England*, who of right for Maieſty and dignity ought to precede all Kings in the World, out of feare of his head, obſerve the nods, and becks of theſe varlets, and the Nobility and Gentry, mortified beaſts, trampled on by theſe ſcullions, it ſlaved at their owne charge, lick up their duſt.

After dinner, a ſad dinner to the Monks, this merdaille, theſe ſtinkards, throng before the gates, and demand the Charter of Liberties, which the Abbot had promiſed them to ſeale, which was ſent, and read to them in the thickeſt of the rout: If they pleaſe to accept it, (this was the Abbots Complement) he is ready to ſeale. They (reſolved never to be pleaſed) with much ſcorne and pride answer by an Eſquire of the Abbot, That the Abbot muſt appoint ſome Clerk of his to attend them with Ink and Parchment, Themſelves would dictate, and after the Abbot and Covent ſhould confirme what was done; when this humour was ſatiſfied, The ſafety
and

and peace of the Monastery and Monkes were as desperate as ever. The old Charter, which they will everlastingly believe concealed, must be produced, else they will bury the Covent in the ruines of the Cloysters.

This Charter did certainly (as they will have it) containe all their ancient *Liberties* and priviledges, and if this was true, there was no great reason it should be in the Abbots keeping.

Here the Abbot imployes the most honourable Esquires of the Countrey, as Mediatours to soften them, and offers (if they desire it) to say Masse before them next morning, and to sweare upon the Sacra-^{Super Sa-}ment he should be about to take, with ^{cramentum.} what Monkes they would name, that he kept from them no such Charter with his knowledge.

Make choice (sayes he) of what *Liberties* you can, you shall have my Charters drawne, they shall be granted you by it; I will seale you a reall Charter instead of a fantastick one, never seene by you, no where to be had. The Abbot struggles in vaine against these waves, this Charter of their fancies they will have: Nor shall any other price redeeme the Monastery, they intended the subversion of the house, and wrangle

wrangle thus crossely, that they might seeme to have some pretences to doe it, but because they had much businesse to goe about, and could not be here and there too, a truce was taken for that day, and many of these *pure brethren* betake themselves to other parts; some of them would not be prevailed with, the Bread and Ale of the Monastery brought forth to them in huge Fats, would not worke upon them to lay their fury, they stayed onely for a leading hand. Here an honest Burgesse interposes, *Ribaulds* (sayes he) what is it you purpose? most of you here are forrainers of the Villages about, this is the most famous mischief which can be acted in this Countrey, this Beacon must set all on fire, and it is fit we, who are Burgesses and Free-men of this Towne should give the on-set: by this finenesse they are gained to quit the gates, and joyne to the assistance of their fellow-labourers. The rest of the day is spent by their united forces, in overthrowing of houses, clashing of vessells, and spoiling of goods according to the rule of *Walter* the false founder of the order. At night the Lieutenants make Proclamation under the Kings Banner, commanding strong Guards to be set about the Towne, that they may be assured against surprizes, and about

Ribaldi:

Quod didicerant. a
Waltero.

about the river *Werlam*, and Saint *Ger-
manes* ; making it losse of the head to any
Monke, who should be found issuing from,
or entring the Monastery that way, This
was done to set a trap for the Prior ; and
those who fled with him. They proclaimed
also that whosoever could challenge any
debts due to him from the Monastery,
might put in his claime (and little prooffe
should be needed) the next day, and the
Burgesses of the Towne, would discharge
as far as the goods of the Monastery
would reach ; Much more was Magisteri-
ally throwne in, to shew a cast of the *pre-
sert power* : which was no sooner done,
but there appeares a Farmour of the Man-
nor of *Kingsbury* belonging to this Abbey,
armed with his Sword and Buckler, this
man was much in arreares for his Farme,
and durst not peepe abroad from his lur-
king holes before these broyles, which
hiding of himselfe he imputes now to the
injustice, and cruelty of the Prior, this
chuffe demands one hundred Marks dama-
ges for the losses he had sustained in his
absence, and threatens to burne the grange
of Saint *Peter*, and Mannor-house of
Kingsbury neare the Abby, if he be not re-
paired ; twenty pounds he receives upon
this demand, and goes away, swearing, he
would

would freely give it back againe for the Priors head.

Saturday night passed with much perplexity to the Monkes, who were at their wits ends, and lifes too (they could not hope better things) about the Charter, which was no where extant but in the noddles of these cluster-fits. But day, and comfort broke out together upon them; Suddenly this overflow of pride, and arrogancy abated, their loftinesse fell, and their bristles were somewhat laid, very unpleasing rumours concerning the Army were spread, and the death of the Idol Tyrant *Wat*, of stinking memory, was certainly knowne and divulged. and what was as stabbing, that the Citizens of London growne wise, and resolute, either out of loyalty (or which is the rather to be supposed experience of their new master) began now to owne their Prince, their naturall Lord unanimously, and to side with him against all seditious opposers of his Majesty, and the *just rights and liberties* of his people, which they saw like to perish together. Farther a Knight of the Court, seconds the report, and by proclamation in the Kings Name (now legall againe) commands this herd to keepe the Kings peace under forfeiture of life, and members from that houre.

*Wals. fide
memo.*

Walsingh.

The

The King now growne a *Protestour* againe of his Subjects, sends his Letters pro-
rectory to the Abbot in these words.

Richard, &c. To all our Lieges,
and Commons of Hartford &c.
We pray, Charge, Command, streightly
as we may, &c. by the faith and lige-
ances which to us yee owe, that to our
Beloved in God, the Abbot of St. Al-
bane, nor to our House and Monastery
of the said place, of our Patronage, nor
to none of the People, Monkes, nor o-
thers, nor to none of the goods of the
said Monastery, &c. Yee suffer to be
done, as much as in you lies, any grie-
vance, dammage, &c. Given under
our Great Seale at our City of London,
&c.

Though now these Carles were well cool-
led, yet ere the zeale was quite slackened,
and the Clouds dispelled, which hovered
weakely, and were likely to scatter with
the next breath of winds, they conclude
to perfect their building, which to the
great nufance of this Monastery they had
raised;

raised; Besides, the Lieutenants, or Major Generalls of *Tyler*, thought it a much unworthinesse to droope too soon, before those whom they had summoned in to piece up their deformed insurrection with so much bravery, and insolence. They continue and pursue their requests to the Abbot, but with lesse noise than formerly, the Abbot was advised by Letters from Sir *Hugh Segrave*, Lord Steward of the Household, and Sir *Thomas Percy* created after Earle of *Worcester*, to grant all things, assuring him these grants being thus forced from him would be voide in Law, and could not hurt his Monastery. The Abbots Chamber, the Chappell, all places are full of them, they give directions to the Abbots Clerke for their Charter of Liberties, which now they were contented to accept, but will have a Bond of one thousand pounds sterling for the delivering up the Charter unknowne, before the annunciation of the blessed Virgin next, if it can be found, if not, that the Abbot with his twelfsch hand (an antient Saxon manner of purging or clearing the offender, where the offence was secret) with twelve of his chiefe Monkes should sweare, that he neither has nor detains any such Charter with his knowledge.

*Wals. Her-
lingorum.*

The

The Abbot agrees, he and the Covent Seale; But oh the miracle (not to be believed, nor understood without another upon our faith, and understanding) the Seale, in which the glorious *Protomartyr* *Wals.* was figured, three times together could not be pulled from the Wax, no sleight, no strength could doe it; To passe by the pious frauds, and dreames of Monkes; from thence the black-bands depart to the Market place, there at the Crosse they publish their new Acquisitions, the Charters of the King, and Abbot, with the Kings protection of the Monastery, which was but a counterfeite of their love. On Munday and Tuesday following the villeins of the Patrimony of our *Protomartyr* (as the others did in all places else imbroiled) exact of the Abbot deeds of manumission, and Liberty, according to the effect of the Royall Charter before, which Charter the Abbot recites, and confirms.

From villeins these now conceive themselves Gentlemen of Welsh pedigree, descended of Princes, nay as our Monk, noble beyond the line and race of Kings, they are meere free-holders, hold onely of God and the Sunne, rather of the Sun, and club, and will neither performe their customes, and services, nor pay Rent. The common people,

Wals.

people, who are neither swayed by Religion or Honesty, stop and check themselves, not that they were contented, but because they could not, nay they durst not goe on to more.

The plague of this distemper was not onely epidemicall, but kept its dayes; on the fatall Saturday, fifty thousand Clownes, out of *Suffolke, Essex, Cambridgeshire*, the Isle of *Elie* (places miserably harrassed according to the former presidents) were incorporated by the juggling tricks of the Essexian impostors, sent out by the Fathers of disobedience, in the first conception of the ruffle to inveigle profelites to the *Holy League*. This was but an indigested Masse without shape or forme, *Wraw* not *Straw* (as sometimes he is called) a most leud *Presbyter* as *Walsingham*, or Priest, who came from *London*, the day before with Orders from *Tyler* (who according to his owne establishment had the executive power) was employed into those parts to lick and fashion the Monster. He with *Robert Westbrome* King of this Congregation, lead the tatter'd reformers from *Mildenhall* to *St. Edmunds bury*, where then stood a most glorious Monastery, and where their fellow scoundrells expected them, *Wraw* findes these choperboches good disciples, willing

Sceleratiff.
Presbyr.

willing to learne, and quick of apprehension so capable they understood his least signes. The same fierces are againe acted by other Lunaticks, the Lawyers or Apprentices of the Law (as the Monke) and their houses are the first object of their spight, they doe not onely cut off them, but fire their nests. *Lir John Cavendish* chiefe Justice of the Kings Bench, who had beene one of the most able Serjeants of this Kings Grand-fathers Reigne, and was made chiefe Justice by him, they intercept, and behead. *Orpheus Tragic, Nero the Romane, Belshazzar the Brittain,* excellent in the swetnesse of a voyce and skill of Song, with *John of Cambridge* Prior of *Saint Edmunds* lose their lives in the same manner, as they unluckily fell in to their hands.

The cause of the Priors death is made this ; He was discreet, and managed the affaires of his Monastery faithfully, and diligently, he was taken neare *Mildenhall*, a Towne then belonging to *Saint Edmund* of the demaine of the Abby, the Vassalls, Hindes, Villeins, and bond-men of the house, sentenced him, murdered him by Vote ; His body lay five dayes naked in the field unburied. In *Saint Edmunds bury*, these cut-throats compasse the Priors head

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round as in a proceſſion, after they carry it upon a Lance to the pillory, where that and the chiefe Juſtices head, are advanced. Their next worke was the levelling a new houſe of the Priours. After they enter the Monaftery, which they threaten to fire, unleſſe *John Lakinheth* Gardian of the temporalities of the Barony in the vacancy then were delivered to them, which the Townſ-men mingled in the throng put them upon: the Gardian ſtood amidſt the crowd unknown. This man out of piety to preſerve the Monaftery (it was piety then though it may be thought impiety now) diſcovers himſelfe, he tells them he is the man they ſeek, and aſkes what it is the *Commons* would have with him. They call him traitor (it was capitall to be called ſo, not to be ſo) drag him to the Market-place, and cut off his head, which is ſet upon the Pillory to keepe company with the Priors, and chiefe Juſtices.

Walter of Todington a Monke was ſought for, they wanted his head. but he hid himſelfe, and eſcaped. Our backſters errant, of the round Table. Knights of induſtry, would be thought Generall redeemers, to take care of all men in diſtreſſe; For the Burgeſſes ſake, they command the Monkes, (threatning them and their walls
if

if they obey not) to deliver up all the obligations of the Towns-men for their good behaviour, all the antient Charters from the time of King *Cnut* the Founder any way concerning the liberties of the Town, besides they must grant and confirme by Charter the *Liberties* of the Towne which could not be done in the vacancy (for so it was) *Edmund* of *Brumfield* Abbot in name, by provision of the *Pope*, was a prisoner at *Nottingham*, nor had any election beens since the death of Abbot *John Bri-vole*, and therefore the Jewels of the house are pawned to the Towns-men as a gage that *Edmund* of *Brumfield* (whom they would suppose Abbot, and whom they intended to set free) shou'd Seale, which Jewels were a Crosse and Calice of Gold, with other things, exceeding in value one thousand pounds, these were restored againe in time of peace, but with much unwillingesse. Upon the brute of the Idols mishap, and the suppression of his Legions at *London*, these Caterpillers dissolve of themselves, *Wraw* the Priest, *West-brome*, & the rest of the capitall villeins in the generall audit, or doomesday for these hurliburlies, shall be called to a reckoning for their outrages. Cambridge suffered not a litle in these uproars, the Towns-men

with the Country peasants about confederated together, breake up the treasury of the University, tear and burn its Charters, they compell the Chancelour and Schoollars under their common Seals to release to the Mayor and townsmen all rights and Liberties, all actions, and to be bound in 3000l, not to molest the Burgeses by suits of Law concerning these things for the time to come. The Mayor and Bailiffs were fetched up by writ to the next Parl. where the deeds were delivered up and Cancelled, the Liberties of the towne seiz d into the Kings hand, as forfeited; new ones granted by him to the University, all which they owe yet to the piety of this King, and his Parliament, a Court which the Idol never names: had he set up one of his owne beggetting, it must have had nothing else but the name; it would have beene as destroying as the field.

Norfolke the Mother of the *Kets* would not loyter this while, nor sit lazily, and sluggishly looking on. *John Lister* a Dyer of *Normich* King of the *Commons* there, infuses zeale and daring into his Countrymen; he had composed out of his owne Empire, and the borders, an Army of fifty thousand Men. This upstart Kingling would not wholly move by example, he makes

makes presidents o' his owne, and tramples not like a dull beast the road beaten by others. He had heard what was done by the *London* Congregations, he had a stock of traditions from the Elders there, which he was able to improve; and although I know not how he could exceed the Idol with his councell, yet (so the Monk) excee'de them he did, he presumed greater things.

Tyler lost his life before things were ripe, was watched and undermined by the King and Nobility. he could not spread his full sailes, else for his presumption he far out-goes *Litster*. *Litster* the *Norfolke* Devil begins with plunder and rapine (the onely way to flish a young Rebellion.) The *Malignants* of the Kings party (the rich and peaceable goe under that notion) are made a prey, no place was safe, or privileged. Plots were laid to get the Lord *William* of *Ufford* Earle of *Suffolke*, at his Mannor o' *Ufford* neer *Debenham* in *Suffolke*, into the company, out of policy; That if the cause succeeded not, then the Rebels might cover themselves under the shadow of that Peer. The Earle warned of their intention, rises from Supper, and disguised as a Groom * of Sir *Roger* of *Beis*, with a * *Garcion*.
Port-mantue behind him, riding by-waies,

and about, ever avoiding the routs, comes to St. *Albanes*, and from thence to the King.

The *Commons* failing here, possesse themselves of the places, and houses of the Knights neare, and compell the owners to sweare what they list, and for greater wariness to ride the Country over with them, which they durst not deny: among those intrall'd by this compulsion were the Lords *Scales*, and *Morley*, Sir *John Brews*, Sir *Stephane* of *Hales*, and Sir *Robert* of *Salle*, which last was no Gentleman borne, but as full of honour and loyalty as any man, Knighted by the Kings Grand-father for his valour; he was (*sayes Froissart*) one of the biggest Knights in *England*, a man not supple enough, who could not bend before the new Lords; He had not the solidity of judgement (as some more subtle than honest call it) to accommodate himselfe to the times. Like *Messala* he would be of the Justest side, let the fortune be what it would, he would not forsake Justice under colour of following prudence, he thought it not in vaine to prop up the falling Government, perhaps his judgement may be blamed, he stay'd not for a fit time, had he not fail'd here, he had not fought against heaven, against providence,

dence, whose counsells and decrees are hid from us, are in the clouds. not to be pierced, our understanding is as weake, as foolish, as providence is certein and wise. Our hopes and feares deceive us alike, we cannot resolve our selves upon any assurance, to forsake our duty for the time to come, Gods designes are knowne onely to himselfe, It is despaire, not piety (despair too farre from that) to leave our Country in her dangerous diseases, in her publick calamities; the insolency of unjust men is a prodigie of their ruine, and the incerteinty of things humane may teach us, that those we esteeme most *establisht*, most assured, are not seldome soonest overthrowne, *Plato* would not have men refer all things to fate, there is somewhat in our selves (sayes he) not a little in fortune, Ours are but cockfights, the least remainder of force and life may strike a necking blow, and by an unlooked for victory raise what is false, if death cannot be kept off, if our Country cannot be saved by our attempts, there is a comlineesse in dying handsomly, not can any man be unhappy but he who out-lives it. We have heard of Women who cast themselves into the fiery pits where their dead husbands are consumed; of Vassals who stab themselves to follow

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their

their Prince into the next world ; of *Otho's* Platorians, or the Saguntines burning in their Cities flames. What can be so honourable as to dye for or with our Countrey, or Faith, our Religion, or Honesty, to die with that which gave us life, and liberty, and sense of these ?

Lusters Hogherds vow to burne *Norwich*, unless this Knight will come out to them, which he does well mounted, and forsakes his Horse to please them. They seem to honour him highly, and offer him a faire Canton of the new *Common-Wealth*, if he will command their Forces.

The faithfull *Cavalier* abhorred the proposition, and could not dissemble his dislike ; He tells them he will not to his eternall dishonour renounce his Sovereigne, whom all good men obeyed, to engage with the veryest perfidious Traitors living, in their villanies. He attempts to Horse himselfe againe, but failes ; It was Treason to speak against the Government.

The *Commons* grow furious, they cry out Treason, against Treason and Rebellion : Thousands of hands are lifted up against him, as if they all moved by the same Nerves and Sinews ; They hew him down, but he crushes some of them with his ruine ; Whosoever stood within his reach, lost ei-
ther

ther Head Legs or Armes ; He kills twelve of them, at length avilain of his owne beats out his brains ; Then doe the infernal Curs rush in with full mouthes, and mangle him to bits, who (sayes *Walsingham*) would have driven a thousand of them before him, had he had faire play. This amazes the rest of the Gentry, they strive for *Vas-salage*, with the same emulation others doe for *Liberty*, they observe *Litster*, they receive his Commands upon their knees, who in all things imitates the state and pomp of Kings ; Sir *Stephen* of *Hales* a Knight of honour carves before him, and tastes his Meates, and Drinkes, the rest of the miserable Courtiers are imployed in their severall offices. But when the fame of the Kings good fortune began to grow strong, and of his preparations to assert his Right and Authority, *Litster* sends on Embassie (from *NorthWalsbam*, the thorne of his tyranny) to *London*, the Lord *Morley*, and Sir *John Brewes*, with three of the confiding Commons, to obtaine Charters of *manumission*, and pardon, with great summes of monies, (squeezed out of the Citizens or *Normich*, under pretence of preserving the City from slaughter, fire and spoile, or as others raised by an ordinary tribute to *Litster*.) Which monies were sent for presents

sents to the King, to win him to grant them Charters more ample and beneficial, than had been given to any others.

These Messengers are met at *Ichlingham* neere *New market* by *Henry le Spenser*, Lord Bishop of *Norwich*, of a noble Family, stout and well armed; He had been at his Mannor of *Burleigh* neere *Okeham*, and there heard of the tumults in *Norfolke*, and was now hastning thither to see how things were carryed, with eight Lances onely in his company, and a few Archers. He charges the Lord *Morley*, and Sir *John* upon their Allegiance to tell him, whether any of the *Commons* (the Kings Traitors) were with them. They look upon the Bishop as a young rash man, and the awe of their Masters was so prevalent, he could hardly wrest the secret from them. After many words they discover it; and the Bishop causes the heads of the Clowns to be struck off, and fixed on a publick place at *Newmarket*. Then taking with him that Lord and Knight, he posts for *Northwalsham*; The Gentry hearing of the Bishops arrivall in his Coat of Mail, with his Helmet upon his head, his Sword by his side, and his Lance upon his thigh, croud in to him, the Bishop quickly found him selfe in a gallant equipage, and as quickly reaches

North-

Northwalsam, the finks of the Rebellion.

Litster was intrenched, he had fortified his ditch with Pales, Stakes, and Dorees, and shut himselfe in behinde with his Carts, and Carriages. The heroick Bishop like another *Maccabeus*, charges bravely through the ditch, into the midst of the Rebels(when all the Barons of *England* bid themselves,) so suddenly, that the Archers could not let an arrow flie at him, and came to handy blowes. As the *French Historian de Serres* observes, in affaires of the World oftentimes he that is most strong carries it, a good fortune, and a good minde seldome goe together.

*Raro simul
bonam for-
tunam cum
bona mente.
Liv.*

Otho tells his Souldiers oftentimes where the causes of things are good, yet if judgement be wanting (I may put in) where the Counsels are unsound, the Agents faithlesse, where Money, Armes, and Men are wanting, the issue must be pernicious; The goods and honours of this world which follow the Triumphers Chariots are common to the good and bad; Grace, Charity and Love, are the marks of a pious man, not Successe, to brag of which becomes rather a *Spartacus* or *Mahomet*, (who carry Faith and Law upon the Swords point) than a Christian: The God of the Christians

ans is not the God of robbery, and bloud, but things here fell out as could be wished, the innocency of the side prevailed, and the righteous weake side overcame the strong unjust; *Litster* touched with the conscience of his mischiefs, struggles to the utmost to avert his danger, at length gives ground, and attempts to shifte for himselfe by leaping over his Carriages in the Rere. The Bishop pressed forward so fiercely, this course proved in vaine, most of the unhappy Clownes are laid along upon the place. *Litster* and the Captains of the Conspiracy are taken and condemned to be drawn, hanged and beheaded, which was done. Others of the chiefe Conspirators dispersed over the Country, are searched out and executed.

*Nisi enim
demoniis
pleni fuisset,
nequaquam in destructi. sacr.
Eccles. Chr. fidei & regni exterminii conspirass.*

The Monke here tells us, It was apparent by the workes of these Demoniacks, by their fruits, that they had conspired (he speakes of the whole) not onely the destruction of the Church and Monarchy, but of the Christian faith too. Schoole-masters were sworne by them never to teach Grammer more, and whosoever was taken with an Inkhorne about him, never saved his head.

Our Monke attributes these calamities to the remissness of the Bishops, to the conceits

conceits and fangles of Presbyter *Wycliffe*, which if they be truly registred by the Monkes, his mortall enemies, were pestilentiall and damnable. Indeed Presbyter *Wycliffe* was then living, but is not named in these commotions, as one busie in them, by the Monke, (though busie he might be, we shall finde Sir *John Old-castle*, Lord *Cobham*, and others of *Wycliffes* disciples, rebels, and traitours, too too busie in Henry the fifts beginning) *Baal*, and *Straw*, and *Wraw* were Priests of the Idol, and his Lieutenants, and might serve the turne to imbroyle without fetching more aide in : He attributes too these mischiefes to the licentious invectives of the Clownes against their Lords. generally to the sins of the Nation, inclusively taking in the Orders of Mendicants, or Begging Fryars, (like factious Lecturers) who had nothing of their owne, and were obliged to flatter the people, and make themselves popular; who sayes he forgetfull of their profession and vowes, greedy and covetous of mony, foster the people in their errors, call good evill, and evill good, seducing the great men with fawning, and the rabble with lyes. So that in those dayes (thus he proceeds) the Argument held in every mans mouth, *This is a Fryar : therefore a Lyar*. as strong as this, *This is white, therefore coloured*.

Here againe is *Walsingham* at a stand, he complains, That it is impossible to relate the villanies of the Rustick Devils, done in all parts.

We will now return to see what the King does next, who was not asleep this while. After he had cleared the City (late-ly *Tylers* good Town) of the Kentish frie, he commands the Nobility and Gentry (who durst now peep abroad) all the Kingdome over to repair to him at *London* well armed, and well horsed, as they loved him, and his royall honour. Their owne danger, and late feares, adde wings to their haste. Within a few dayes, forty thousand Horse meet at a Rendezvouz upon *Blackheath*, whither the young King, who had taken his Sequestration off, and restored himselfe to his Blood and Majesty, rides daily upon a Royall Courser, to view their Order, with his Imperiall Banner borne before him. He delighted to be seen and acknowledged for what he was amongst his own Homagers. Here he is informed, that the Kentishmen (a stirring people, but with what generous resolution will soone be found) are again in mutinie, (a mutinie however else contemptible) not to be slighted at that time. The King commands his Cavakie (on fire, as much as himselfe)

to march, and root out this perfidious race of miscreants. Here the Nobility and Gentry of the County interpose, and become pledges for the Commons, which appeases the King; who now disbands his Army, and resolves to take no other course of Justice, but such as was ordinary and usuall, by Judgements upon the known Lawes of the Land, and by Juries of twelve men, the ancient Birth-right of the Englishmen. Lawes which could not have fitted *Tylers* Courts, nor Tryals, but which have bene ever the rule in all just and legall Tryalls, in all calme, and pious Ages. The Law Martiall being proper to an Army marching, to be exercised in it. If otherwise, all Sentences by colour of it, are against the *Magna Charta*, &c. and to the manifest subversion of the priviledges of Subjects.

Earle of
Straf. case:

Upon this faire, and Kingly conclusion of *Richard*, Commissions were given, and Justices of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to heare and determine the Treasons and Felonies committed in the late Insurrections, and principally to inquire, who were the chief authors, fomenters, and incendiaries of the broyles, are sent into *Kent*, *Essex*, and the rest of the Provinces in Rebellion.

The most honourable Mayor of *London* with others in Commission with him, sate upon

upon those of *Kent, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolke, &c.* who were apprehended in *London*. *Straw* taken in an old rotten house about *London, Kirkby, Treder, Sterling* are condemned, and beheaded, *Strawes* head being set upon *London bridge* with *Tylers*; but *Jack Straw*, who was privy to all the contrivances, and plots of the confederacy could give light into the mid-night darkness of *Tylers* steps, through all the close windings of his labyrinths of Treasons, is urged (the Major promising with some honest Citizens to be at the charge of Masses for his soule, the good of which they desire him to consider) to declare his full knowledge of the Counsells, and votes passed, and to what end they had conjured up the wicked spirits of those *Garboyles*, *John* was obstinate at the first, and would confesse nothing. but gained by these promises, and a little penitent (which was much to be believed of one possessed with Legions) he tells them, *because I have hopes of help from your suffrages after my death, and because this discovery may be advantageous to the Common-wealth, I will confesse truly to you what we intended; when we met at Black-heath, and sent for the King by our Captaine Generalls Order, we purposed to have massacred all the Nobility and Gentry with him*

him, then to have lead the King with us
 respected, and treated Kingly from place
 to place, to baite the vulgar by the authority
 of his presence into our League, whom they
 might so have taken for the head of our Com-
 motion, he being by these means likely to
 have beene supposed by his owne party too to
 have trusted us, when by the confluence of all
 the Countie's our companies had been full, and
 the supreme Executive power wholly ours,
 we meant to have purged the Nation, to have
 destroyed the Gentry, and first the Knights
 of Saint Johns of Jerusalem, with all the
 ragges of royalty, which by this time had been
 but a ragge it selfe. Afterwards to have kil-
 led the King, whose Name could then have
 been of no use to us.

Their Oath to preserve him could not
 last longer then their conveniency and opi-
 nions, which had then changed. We meant
 so once, but we meane otherwise now,
 had beene a satisfactory excuse. They had
 often sworne and Covenanted that they
 neither meant nor had power to hurt the
 Kings Prerogative, that they intended to
 maintaine the Kings authority in his royall
 dignity, the free course of Justice, and the
 Lawes of the Land, with infinite expressi-
 ons and protestations of this kind. They
 might answer, The time was when all this

See Mag.

Chart &c.

See 25 H.

8.

1 Eliz.

1 Jac,

was reall, when they would not have sub-
 verted the government, not have destroyed
 the ancient family ; *to which sayes a Statute*
(which we hope it can be no treason to
Tylers Ghost to recite) the dominions, and
rights of the realme of England, &c. Ought
by inherent birth-right and lawfull and un-
doubted succession descend and come. This we
being bounden (thus speake the members
heretofore) thereunto by the Lawes of God
and man doe recognise, &c. The answer we
say might have beene easy, they would not
have done it some time ago, they swore
and Covenanted, and Covenanted againe
they would not, now they will ; Tyler is still
Tyler, but his Liberty (false cheating liber-
ty) is every where free, both to will and dis-
like, as the safety of the Common-wealth shall
require and carry him on. This was the
faith and honesty of that age, by which
we may guesse at the cause and men who
acted for it, who were the undertakers;
what trust is to be given to such perfidious
knaves, whose protestations, and Covenants
of one day are wiped out by an inspiration of
the next ; We may say by an inspiration, It
was wondrous fit for these changes, Our
Protem should bring inspiration in. All
those of Estates, and Possessions, Bishops, Ca-
nons, Parsons of Churches, Monkes, we
would

would have rooted out of the earth: onely the
 begging Fryers should have been preserved,
 who would have served (such sheep such She-
 pwards) well enough for (church-duties,
 which we may wonder after all these
 pranks that they should thinke of; here
 would have beene a very plaine church;
 Questionlesse after all these actions the de-
 votion of these Reformers could not have
 beene much; By that time our publick
 Theeves had cast lots for the Kings, Chur-
 ches, Nobilities, and Gentries Revenues,
 what Boores of others Countre could
 have compared with the riches of our Pea-
 sants and their Captaine Tyler when there
 should have beene (so Straw goes on,) none
 left more great, more strong or more wise
 then our selves, then we had set up a Law of
 our owne forging, at our pleasure, by which
 our Subjects should have beene regulated.
 Necessary it was the old Law should be
 voted downe; It condemned them in eve-
 ry line. Then had we created us Kings, Tyler
 for Kent (a part too small for an Arch-
 tyrant) and others for other Shires; Here
 was to be Monarchy still, not evill in it
 selfe, but where it ought to be of right,
 onely the Family was to be changed, the
 ancient Saxon Norman stemme, for an up-
 start dunghill brood of Vipers, Tyler to be
 advanced

Quib. sub-
 ject regulat-
 ti, &c.

advanced upon the ruines of *Richard*, the Cedar to be torne up, to make the Bramble roome enough, while any of the royall off spring had beene in being to claime the right, to have involved the miserable, perjured, foolish people in an everlasting civil Warre; never to have ceased while there had beene a veine of blood to run. The maintenance of *Tylers* wrong, his usurpation (not to looke farther than the present World) would have beene more fatall then ten plagues. *John* addes, *no man thwarted these ends of ours more than the Archbishop, therefore we hated him to death, and made all the hast possible to bring him to it.*

In the evening of that Saturday in which Wat perished, because the poorer sort of the Londoners favoured us, we intended to have fired the City in foure places, and to have divided the spoyles. (So the faithfull Citizens, as forward as they were, had at last paid for their love) he calls God to witnesse these truths. The confessions of many others of the ingagement agreed with this of Straw.

Stow.

The Lawyers, and those (as one) who fled from the tyranny of the time, durst now show their faces. Here is tyranny of the rout, tyranny of a savage Clown their boutefeau;

boutefeu; whose few dayes of cruell usurpation, were more bloody, more destroying then the yeares of any *Caligula*, any *Nero*, any *Domitian* whatsoever. A Civill Warre (sayes a noble Frenchman) makes more breaches, as to a Country, as to Manners. Lawes, and Men in six Moneths, then can be repaired in six yeares. Sieur de la Nové.

What then can be thought or said of those Monsters, who, against all ties of nature and piety, shall raise a desperate civill Warre. meerely with the intent to overthrow Religion, the Church, the Government, Lawes, and Humanity, out of a cursed divelish ambition to advance themselves (*Tylers* and Sons of the Earth before) to an height which God (as some love to speake) never called them to. For though power is of God, it is onely so when the comming to it is by lawfull meanes. He that ordaines the power, allowes, not the usurpation of it. *Tyler* had the power to doe mischief, the power of rebellion, the power which must have ruined the church & common wealth, but whether this be the power which Christians are to submit to, let the next Casuists judge.

The *Septuagint* translation of the Bible sayes of *Abimelech*, who slew his seaventy Brethren, (murder ushers usurpation in)

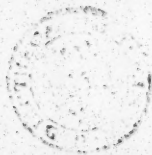
He made himselfe King, by Tyranny. The Monk, who writes the lives of the Offa's, speaking of Beormred the Mercian Usurper, has these words : In the same region of the Mercians, a certaine Tyranne rather destroying and dissipating the Nobility of the Realm, than ruling, &c. ; persecuting, banishing, &c. Lest any one, especially of the Royal Blood, should be advanced in his place, he vehemently feared. The thirty Usurpers in the time of Gallienus are every where called Tyrannes. Paulus Diaconus writing of Valerine in the time of Valentinian, sayes, He was crushed in Britannie, before he could invade the Tyrannie; and of Maximus, that he was stout and valiant, and worthy of the Empire, had he not against the faith of his oath, raised himselfe per tyrannidem, by tyrannie. In other places, Eugenius, Gratian, Constantine, Sebastian, created Tyrannes. The words Tyranne, and Tyrannie, and tyrannous partie, being used often by him, are ever opposed to just and Regall power, never used in any other sense. Widdrington, to the example of Athalia urged by Bellarmine against Kings, sayes she was no lawfull Queen, she had seized the Kingdome as an Usurperesse by Tyrannie, the Kingdome belonged to Jeash, in whose right, and by whose power she was justly slaine — Our most

most learned Prelate Bishop Abbot of *Sa. Anilog.*
libury tells the Cubs of *Loyola*, *Athalia* ^{c 3:}
 had snatched, had grasped, and held the king-
 dome with no right, no title, but by butchery,
 robbery, rapine, and forcible entry—and that
 she was thrown down and killed by the com-
 mon bounden duty and faith of Subjects to
 their Prince. *Baronius* a Cardinal, that the
Maccabees of *Levi* or house of the *Assa-*
maneans, may not be made Usurpers, mat-
 ches them with the royall line of *David*,
 else sayes he, *absque labe tyrannidis*, without *Apparatus*
 the stain of Tyrannie, they could not meddle
 with the King some. *Rodolph* Duke of *Sue-*
via or *Snabenland* set up for a false Empe-
 rour by that devilish Pope *Hildebrand* a-
 gainst the Emperour *Hen. the III.* is called
 by the *Germanes* a *Tyranne* upon this
 score. A full Tyrannie (sayes one of our
 Chiefe Justices, speaking of the Papall
 power in Church causes here) has two
 parts, without right to usurp, and inordi-
 nately to rule, and the Statute 28 of King
Henry the 8. against the *Papall Authority*,
 calls it an usurped *Tyranny*, and the exer-
 cise of it a *Robbery*, and spoyling of the
 King, and his people.

The Statute 31 *Henry 6.* adjudging *John*
Cade another Impe of Hell, and successour
 of *Wat*, to be a traitour, which are the words

of the title, and all his Indictments, and Acts to be voide, speaks thus; The most abominable *Tyrannie*, horrible, odious, and arrant false Traytour, *John Cade*, naming himselfe sometime *Mortimer* (he and *Tyler* had two Names) taking upon him Royall power, &c. by false, subtil, and imagined language, &c. Robbing, Stealing, and spoyling, &c. And that all his *Tyranny*, Acts, Feats, and false opinions, shall be voyded, and that all things depending thereof &c. under the power of *Tyranny*, shall be likewise voide, &c. and that all Indictments in times comming in like case under power of *Tyranny*, Rebellion, &c. shall be voide in Law; and that all Petitions delivered to the King in his last *Parliament*, &c. against his minde, by him not agreed, shall be put in oblivion &c. as against God, and conscience, &c.

To proceed, The King, because all these risings were by the Ring leaders protested to be made for him and his Rights, and that the forces then raised, were raised by his Authority, and all their actions owned by him, issues out a Proclamation from *London*, to this effect.



Richard

Richard &c. To all and singular Sheriffes, Majors, Bayliffs, &c. of our Countie of N. &c. Because we are given to understand; That divers of our Subjects, who against our Peace, &c. have raised and in diverse Conventicles and Assemblies, &c. Do affirme That they the said Assemblies, and Levies have made, and doe make by Our will and Authority, &c. We make knowne to all men, That such Levies, Assemblies, and Mischiefes, from Our Will and Authority have not proceeded (He addes) they were begun, and continued much to His displeasure and disgrace, to the prejudice of His Crowne, and dammage of the Realm. Wherefore he injoynes and commands, &c. To take the best care for the keeping of his Peace, & opposing of all such Levies with a strong hand: Farther, He commands every man to leave such Assemblies, and return home to his own house under penalty of forfeiture of Life, and Member, and all things forfeitable to the King, &c.

These

These *Clowns* charge not the King to be transported Furiously, and Hostilely, to the destruction of the whole people, which can never happen, where the King is in his wits; But what is fully as mad, they will suppose him to Arme against his own life and power, against his own peace, and the peace of all that love him. This *Proclamation* put life into the Royalists, into all honest hearts, and dismayes as much the Rebels, yet after this the *Essex* Traitors, gather again at *Byllicay* near *Hatfield* Peverell, and send to the King, now at *Waltham*, to know whether he intends to make good his Grants of Liberties, and require to be made equal with their Lords, without being bound to any Suits of Court, view of *Frank-pledge*, only excepted twice the year.

Wals.

The King and his Counsell are startled at this impudence: The King answers the Agents, *That if he did not look upon them as Messengers, he would hang them up: Return* (sayes he) *to your fellow Rebels, and tell them, Clowns they were, and are, and shall continue in their Bondage, not as hitherto, but far more basely trampled on. While we live, and rule this Kingdom, by Gods Will we will imploy all our Means and Power to keep you under: So that your misery shall frighten all*
villains

villeins hereafter : And your posterity shall
 curse your memory. At the heels of the
 Messengers, the King sends his Uncle Tho-
 mas of Woodstock Earl of Buckingham, and
 Sir Thomas Percy with a body of Horse to
 quell them. The Rebels were intrenched
 according to the manner of *Litfers* Camp,
 in the midst of Woods ; Ten Lances of the
 Avant Courours rout them ; the Lords,
 when they were come up , inclose the
 Woods round , five hundred are killed,
 eight hundred Horses for carriage taken,
 the broken remainders of the defeat e-
 scape to *Colchester*, a Town ever honest, *Wals-*
 and faithfull to the Prince, where the loyal
 Townsmen would not be gotten to stir ;
 they sollicite the Townsmen (saies the
Monk) with much intreaty , great threats,
 and many arguments ; neither intreaties,
 nor threats, nor arguments would move
 them : From thence they get to *Sudbury* ,
 making every where such *Proclamations* as
 of old they had used ; where the Lord *Fitz-*
Walser (whose seat was at *Woodham Wal-*
ters in *Essex*) and Sir *John Harlestone* rush
 suddenly upon them , kill and take them :
 The King meaning to visite *Essex* in his
 own person, comes to *Havering* at the
 bourne, a Mannour of his own demain , of
 the sacred Patrimony, and from thence to
Chelmsford,

Chelmsford, where he appoints Sir *Robert Tresilian* chief Justice of his Bench of *Pleas* of the Crown, to sit and inquire of the Malefactours, and Troublers of the Country, and to punish the offendours according to the customs of the Realm, known, and visible.

Wals. Five hundred of these wretched peasants, who had no mercy for others heretofore, cast themselves down before the King bare footed, and with heads uncovered, implore his pardon, which he grants them, on condition, They discover the great Conspiratours, the Captain Rogues. The Jurors are charged by the chief Justices to carry themselves indifferently, and justly in their Verdicts, neither swayed by love, or hatred, to favour, or prosecute any man : Many upon the Evidence given in, and the finding of the Jury, were condemned to be drawn and hanged ; nineteen of them were trussed upon one Gallows. Heading had formerly been the execution of others in *Essex*, *Kent*, and *London*, because of the numbers of the guilty, which was now thought a death short of the demerits of the most foul and heynous offenders; Wherefore according to the custom of the Realm, It was decreed (sayes the Monk) that the Captains should be hanged.

The

The like was done in other Countries by the Justices in Commission, where the King was in person. Here the King with the advice of his Counsell, revokes his *Letters Patents*, the *Charters* granted to the *Clowns*: *Althoug* (so he speaks) *we have* in the late detestable troubles, &c. manumised all the *Commons*, our *Liege Subjects* of our *Shires*, and them, &c. have freed from all bondage and service, &c. And also have pardoned the same, our *Liege men* and *Subjects* all *Insurrections* by *Riding*, *Going*, &c. And also all manner of *Treasons*, *Felonies*, *Trespases*, and *Extortions*, &c. Notwithstanding for that the said *Charters*, were without mature deliberation, and unduly procured, &c. To the prejudice of us, and our *Crown*, of the *Prelates*, and great men of our *Realm*; as also to the disherison of holy *English Church*, and to the hurt and damage of the *Common wealth*, the said *Letters* we revoke, make void, and annull, &c. Yet our intention is such *Grace* upon every of our said *Subjects* to confer, though enormiously their *Allegeance* they have forfeited, &c. As shall be usefull to us, and our *Realm*.

The close commands to bring in to the King and his Councell all *Charters* of manumission, and pardon to be cancelled upon their faith and allegeance, and under forfeiture

Forfeiture of all things forfeitable, &c. Witnesse our selfe at Chelmsford the 2. of Jny, and 5. year of our reign. False for the 4.

In the case of a Subject (and no reason Kings shall be more bound) every Act extorted by violence, and awe upon the Agent is voyd. In the time of *Edward the third*, two Thieves (which was the case here) force a Traveller to swear that hee will at a day appointed bring them a thousand pound; and threaten to kill him if he refuse their oath; He swears, and performs what he had sworn; by advice of all the Justices these two were Indicted of Robbery, and the Court maintaines that the party was not bound by this Oath. Yet if this be denyed as unsafe, Violence, or Force, which strikes a just fear into any man, makes any Contract voyd, say the Casuists.

Resp. ad Apolog.

Bishop *Andrewes*, that most learned Prelate, answers to the pretended resignation of King *John*, urged by *Bellarmin*, that what this King did, (if any such act was done) was done by force, and out of feare.

122

Admonit. disp. de jur. f. d. l. i.

Widdrington, the most loyall of all Roman-Catholick Priests, who writ much against the Gun-powder Jesuits, in defence of

of the right of Kings, against those Jesuits who would have cut off the King, the Royall Family, the Bishops of the English Catholick Church, the Nobility and Gentry, as their Letter speaks, with one blow, sayes of this Resignation, or Donation, if we may (so he) call it so, That it was not freely given. The Jesuites challenge the perpetuall dictature, or regency of the University of *Pontamousson* by Bull of *Sixtus* the fift, contrary to the Statutes of the foundation by *Gregory* the thirteenth. Were the Bull true (sayes *Barclais*) yet it ougt not to be of force, because it was obtain'd presently after his Creation, when things are presumed to be rather extorted than obtained. *Bodin* denyes that a King deceived or forced can be bound by his grants. The justice of Contracts is that alone which binds. The distinction of Royall and Private acts is of more sound then strength, and answers not the injustice of the impulsive violence, which must be naturally vicious every where, and corrupt, and weaken the effects, and cannot be good and bad by changes, or as to this, or that. *Grotius*, who loves this distinction, in another place is positive, There must be Equality in all Contracts. He condemns all fear, or awe upon the person purposely moved

moved for the contracts sake, and tels us out of *Xenophon* of those of *Lacedaemon* who annulled a sale of lands which the *Elians* had forced the owners to passe out of fear.

A Charter of King *Henry* the third imprisoned and forced, is said by *Aldenham* to be voyd upon this reason, and I judge the justice of this revocation by the Law of *England*, by which, as our old Parliaments, such force is Treason. The fruits of w^{ch} were here more justly plucked up than they were planted. He who gives up his money to Thieves, according to his oath, may lawfully take it away from them: however they are bound to make restitution. Nor can any prescription of time establish a right of possession in him, who makes his seizure upon no other title but Plunder and Robbery. The 5th of this King, the Parliament declares these Grants to be forced and voyd. Enough to clear the honour of King *Richard*, as to this part.

At *Chelmsford* the King is informed of the whole History of mischiefs done at *St. Albanes*, and resolved in person with all his Guards and Cavalry to ride thither, and sentence the Malefactors with his own mouth; but Sir *Walter Leye* of *Hartfordshire*

Exil. Hug.
le de Spen-
cer par. &
fl.

Rei furtiva
aeterna au-
dhoritas
esto.

shire, fearing the much impoverishing the Country, if the *King* should make any long stay there with such numbers as then attended him beseeches him to make a tryal whether things might not be composed without him, and offers to reconcile the *Abbot* and Townsmen, if the *King* would; which was consented to: The *King* grants him a *Commission*, and joyns with him *Edward Benstude*, *Geofrey Stukelye*, and others of the Gentry of that County.

The coming of these *Commissioners* was noysed at *St. Albanes*: The fiercest of the Clowns knowing what they had done was condemned by the Law, and not to be defended, but by force, which now they had not, began to shake and take fright, are plotting to get out of the way. *Grindscob*, Lieutenant of the late Idol, comforts them, he perswades to goe to Horse; Let us meet the Knight (sayes he) and see whether his looks promise Peace or not; if not, the Towns about us have engaged, they have associated, and are of our *League*, we are rich, and cannot want good fellows, who will assist us while our monies last: On *St. Peters* day this ill advised crew meets the Knight upon the Rode, who was ignorant of their resolutions, and conduct him

K honour;

honourably, according to their fashion to the Town: Sir *Walter* had with him fiftie Lances, and some Companies of Archers, listed at random, many of them being of the Charles, and confederates with them: The Knight cites the Towns-men and their Neighbours to appear before him in *Derfold*, to hear the pleasure and commands of the King; They fail not, There he tells them what Forces the King had assembled, how rigorously those of *Essex* were sentenced: That the King was highly incensed at the troubles and seditions of this place of which he was the Patron and Defender: That with great difficulty he had procure d of the King a Commission, by which himself, and others, not Strangers, or Enemies, but their Friends and Neighbours were authorised to do Justice in the Kings Stead; he concludes, if they will appease the King, they must find out, and deliver up the beginners of these broyls, and make satisfaction to the Lord Abbot, an holy and a just man, for the wrong they had done him.

This many of the hearers approve, and promise to obey. The Knight charges a Jury to be made ready the next morning, and make what discovery they can, and gives the people leave to depart. Towards
night

night he sends for the Jury to his Chamber, intending to have apprehended the Lieutenants, by the assistance of the Jury, without any noyse. These good men and true know nothing, it was the case of their fellows in mischief, and might be their own. They answer in a plain *Ignoramus*, they can indict no man, accuse no man. Amongst all the founder of these swine, there was not one who had been faithless and disloyal to his natural Liege Lord, not one breaker of his peace, not one who could appear so to them.

The Knight seems not to understand the falsnesse and cunning of these Hob-naile perjured Juglers: He takes another way, and next requires them within a peremptory time to bring him the Charters which they had forced from the Monastery, they return after a short consultation, and in the Abbots chamber, where the Knight then was, tell him, *They dare not obey out of fear of the Commons, what was more, they knew not in whose custody the Charters were.* The Knight grows angry, and swears, they shall not goe out of the Chamber till he have them, which they call imprisoning their persons. Here the Abbot intercedes, and though he knew them as very knaves and

lyars as any *Tyler* had set on work, yet he will not (he sayes) distrust their honesty, he will leave things to their consciences, upon which they are freed.

Another Assembly is appointed at *Barnet Wood*, whither the *Villagers* about throng in multitudes. Three hundred Bowmen of *Barnet*, and *Berkhamsted*, make here so terrible a show nothing is done.

The Commissioners privately charge the Gentry, Constables, and Bayliffs to seize in the night *Greyndcob*, *Cadindon*, *John the Barber*, with some others, and to bring them to *Hartford*, whither themselves went in all haste, which was performed: The Esquires and servants of the Abby were sent with them to strengthen the company. This incrages the Townsmen afresh, they gather into Conventicles in the Woods, and Fields, so much frightful to the Monastery. that the *Abbot* recalls his Esquires, lets the prosecution fall, and fearfully summons in his friends to guard him, *Greyndcob's* friends take advantage of this change, and bayl him for three dayes, within which time they were either tyed to agree with the *Abby*, or render up *Greyndcob* to the Justices again. The Townsmen fierce enough still, yet earnest to preserve their
Worthy,

Worthy, are content to part with the Charters; But this *Greyndcob* (more fool-hardy than wise) would not consent to, Nor does he, as knowing the ill-fuella of his Clowns, whine in a Religious tone, never used by him.

He prays them to consider how beautiful *Liberty* is, how sweet, how honourable; Dangerous *Liberty* (say she) is more valuable than late and quiet slavery, let us live, or die with *Liberty* in so generous, so honest a contention it will be glorious to be overcome; whatsoever our feares are, worse we cannot be, than now we are about to make our selves; Success too does not so often faile men as their owne industry and businesse; Feare not for me, nor trouble your selves at my dangers, I shall thinke my selfe more happy than our Lords, if they prosper, or their *King*, to die a Martyr of the *Cause*, with the reputation of such a gallantry. Let such courage as would have hurried you forward to all brave and signall mischiefs, had I

*Per tale
Martyrium
ut a finire.*

lost my head at *Hartford*, inflame your heated eyes; Methinks I see the Heroe *Ty-lers* Ghost chiding our sluggish cowardice, and by the blazes of his fire-brands kindled in Hel, and waved by Fiends about

*Si Heros
dixit, He-
sternodecol-
latus, &c.*

his head, leade on to noble villanies.

Let dreaming Monks and Priests tremble at the aery founds of God, and Saints; he who feares Thunder-bolts is a religious heartlesse Coxcombe, and shall never climb a Molehill. Thus our buskin'd Martyr swagers, after the raptures put upon him by *Walsingham*; *Greyncocks* stubbornesse hardens on the Clownes, they now accuse themselves of basenesse, that they did not cut off the Knights Head, and naile it on the Pillory, to the terrour (say they) of all Judges, and false Justices. *Greyncock* had raised spirits which he could not lay when he would.

Three dayes being expired, he is againe sent to *Hartford Gaol*, where hee hears news from his Brother, who mediated for him in the Court, not very pleasing, which he communicates to his Townsmen. His intelligence was to this effect; That *Rich:* of *Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, and Sir *Thomas Percie* with a thousand armed men were appointed to visit *S. Albanes*.

At this report the Rebels startle, they fall to new Treaties, offer the Charters and Book, in which the old *Treas* betwixt the *Abby* and the Town were recorded, with 200 l. for amends. The Booke is received,
the

the rest put off till the next day. The Earl of *Warwick* sends onely excuses, he heard his own house was on fire, that the Crowns of his own Lordships were up, and hee leaves all things else to quell them. This raises the fallen courages of those of *St. Albanes*, they now laugh at their late fears, If the *Commons*, say they must quit their right of *Conquest*, and surrender their *Charters*, yet will not we (the renowned *Mechanicks*) of *St. Albanes* be their president. And as in all tumults (which can never be observed too often) lying is necessary, and must not be uselesse, whatsoever else is; They lay the blame of their obstinacy upon the Inhabitants of *Barnet* and *Watford*, who threaten (so they would have it believed) to burn their Town if they deliver up their *Liberties*.

Which Inhabitants of *Barnet*, and *Watford* had humbly surrendred theirs before, and submitted to the *Kings* mercy: Thus we find these Rebels of *St. Albanes* again swaggering in their old *Rhodomontadoes*. An Esquire of the *Abbots* acquaints the King with these turnings, who vows to sit personally in judgement upon these everlasting male-contentes.

The *Abbot* full of pitty and charity, who

had saved some of these enemies of his House from the Axe by intercession at London: continues his goodness till he solicites Sir *Hugh Segrave*, Steward of the Household, and others of his friends to mitigate the Kings displeasure, and hinder his journey thither, which was not in their power. Now again are the Townsmen dejected, and seek by all means to keep off the tempest which threatened them: They see Sir *William Croyser* a Lawyer to make their defence, and mediate with the *Abbot*, where there was no danger: an agreement is concluded the day of the King's entry, by which they would bind the *Abbot* not to disclose them, or inform against them.

See 27 H.
8.6.24.

He promises (if they fail not in performance on their part) not to make any complaints to the King of them, that he would be a suiter for their peace if his prayers may be heard, but that here he cannot assure them, Pardons were Acts flowing meerly from the Kings Grace. No man had any power or authority to pardon or remit treasons, &c but the King; and whether he could prevail for them he knew not. This doubtfulness troubles them, it seems to call their innocency too much in-

to question : They tell him, his good will was sufficient, and that as to what belonged to the Royal Dignity they should satisfy the King.

After Vipers the King made his entry into the Town, being met by the *Abbot* and *Covert*, the Bells rang aloud, and the Monks sang merrily his welcome : He was followed by some thousands of Bowmen, and Cavaliers. In this train was Sir *Robert Tresilian* Chief Justice of the *Kings Bench*, who the next day being Saturday the 13. of *July*, and first of the Dog-dayes sat in judgement at the *Moor-hall* (*saies Wal-singham*) at the Town-haule.

Greyndcob, *Cadinton*, and *John the Barber* are fetched from *Hartford*, and laid fast till Munday, against which time new Jurymen are chosen, and charged to be ready with their Verdicts: *Prophet Baal*, the *Sergius* of the new *Alcarn*, the Priest of the Idol, and his Calves, the *Martin* of the *yock*, o' pure discipline of the *Eldership*, was taken by the Townsmen of *Coventry*, brought to *St. Albans* the day before, and this Saturday condemned by the Chief Justice to be Drawn Hanged, Beheaded, Imbowelled, and Quartered, which was done on the Munday following.

He

He confessed to the Bishop of London (to whose Christian Piety he ought the two last dayes of his life, which were begged for his repentance) that certaine hot, and powerfull Pastours of the Separation, Brethren of simple hearts, called by the Spirit (he named six or seven) had covenanted, and engaged to compass England and Wales round, as Itinerant Apostles to propagate the Gospel beat down all abomination of the outward Man, Antichristian Hierarchy, and Tyranny of the Nimrods of the Earth, to cry up the great and holy Cause, and to spread the Law, Principles, and Heresies of Bial, which Disciples (saies this Rabbi) unlesse they be prevented, and taken off wil destroy the Realm in two years : Hee might have said, two months, and been believed, as to the Civility, Humanity, Order, and Honour (never intermitted but in the confusion of a barbarous, impious age) which made England glorious, they had been destroyed, and torn up in a less time. A few licentious ill Acts easily beget a custom, and an hundred ill customes quicklier grow and prevaile than one single good one, there is a proneness in unruly man to run into deboshments, and no wonder that the arrogant, misled, silly multitude capable of any ill impressions should

should deprave and disorder things, where all ties of restraint are loosened, nay, where disorders are not onely defended by the corrupt wits of hirelings, but bidden, & strengthened by a Law, and Villainies made legal Acts.

Had the Idol King *Tyler*, with his Council not gone on too far in the way of extermination, but endeavoured to repair the breaches of his entrance; it would have been no small labour to have restored things to any mean and tolerable condition. If *Presbyter VVicklief*, and his *Classes* by their pernicious Doctrines (as they are charged to this day) did first pervert and corrupt the people, and broach that vessell with which *Father Baul* and *Straw* poysoned them, they must have ruined themselves by the change, sure enough they had been no more comprehended in any of *Tylers Toleration* than the *Prelatical* or *Papistical* party.

In the turmoiles and outrages of this Tyrannie, had it taken, Innocence, Virtue, Ingenuity, Honesty, Faith, Learning, and Goodnesse had been odious, and dangerous. The profit, and advantage of the new Usurpers had been the measure of Justice and right: The noble and ignoble had

had dyed Streets and Scaffolds with their blood, not by Laws and Judgement, but out of malice to their height and worth, out of fury and covetousness to enrich publicke Thieves and Murtherers. The jealousies too and feares of *Tyler* had made all men unsafe. Yet the repute, the renowne of the Founders could not have been much: The glory of successe cannot be greater then the honesty of the enterprise; there must be Justice in the quarrell, else there can be no true honour in the prosperity. *Cato* will love the conquered Common-wealth: *Jugurtha's* fame, who is sayd to bee Illustrious for his Parricides and Rapines, will not make all men fall down and worship.

On *Munday* the fifteenth of *July* (not of *October*, as *Walsingham* is mis-printed) The Chiefe Justice *Tresilian* calls before him the Jury for Inquiry, who saunter, and shamefully protest they cannot make any such discovery as is desired. The Chiefe Justice puts them in minde of the *Kings* Words to them upon the way, promising pardon if they will finde out the offenders, else threatening them with the punishment they should have suffered, who through such silence cannot be apprehended.

Out

Out they goe againe, and the Chiefe Justice follows them; He shewes them a Roll of the principall Offendors names, tells them they must not thinke to delude and blinde the Court with this impudence, and advises them out of a care to preserve wicked mens lives not to hazard their own.

Hereupon they Indict many of the Towne and Country, which Indictments are allowed by a second Inquest appointed to bring in the Verdict, and againe affirmed by a third Jury of twelve, charged onely for the fairenesse of the Tryall: So no man was pronounced guilty, but upon the finding, of thirty sixe Jurors. Then were the Lieutenants *Greynecob*, *Caddington*, and *Barber*, and twelve more Condemned, Drawne, and Hanged. *Wallingford*, *John Garleck*, *William Berewill*, *Thomas Putor*, and many more; with eightie of the Countrey, were Indicted by their Neighbours, and Imprisoned, but forgiven by the Kings Mercie, and discharged. They were forgiven most by the Kings Mercie; for hee had forbidden by Proclamation, all men to sue or begge for them, a command which the good *Abbot* sometimes disobeyed,

and hee shall bee well thanked for it.

No benefits can oblige some men : A true rugged churle can never be made fast, never bee tyed by any merit whatsoever : Nothing can soften him : See an unheard of shamelesnes till then ; These lazie, tender-hearted Clowns, who could hardly be got to discover the guilty, now runne with full speed to betray the innocents : They indict the *Abbot* as the principall Raiser, and contriver of these Tumults, which struck at his own life, and the being and safetie of his Monastery. The *Abbot*, as it is said, sent to *Tyler*, upon his ordinances some of the Town and Monastery, but to temporize, and secure himself. This is now supposed by the very Traytors indeed, *Treason by Common Law and Statute against the King his naturall leige Lord*. This having not the feare of God in his heart, &c. but being seduced by the instigation of the Devill, is compassing the death, &c. the deprivation and deposing of his Sovereign Lord from his Royal State, &c. (as such Indictments use to run) this must goe for levying *War* against our Lord the King, adhering to, comforting, and aiding his enemies by open fact ; which are the words of the Statute of *Treason*, declarative of the Common Law.

25 E. 3.

The

The Chief Justice, abominating and cursing the treacherous malice, and perfidiousness of these Bruits, makes them tear the Indictment, which themselves, though urged, are not wicked enough to swear to; nay, which publicquely they confess to bee false in the face of the Court.

Villeinage was not now abolished, though so methink otherwise, but by degrees extinguished since this reigns. Besides, the Letters of Revocation before, restoring all things to their old course, A Commission, which the Abbot procured from the King out of the Chancery, then kept in the Chapter-house of this Monastery, makes this manifest, which speaks to this effect:

Richard by the grace of God King of England, and of France, and Lord of Ireland, &c. To his beloved John Lodowick, Jo: Westwycomb, &c. We command you, and every of you, upon sight of these presents, &c. That on our part, forthwith ye cause to be proclaimed, That all and singular the Tenants of our beloved in Christ, the Abbot of S. Albane, as well free

as bound; the Works, Customs and Services, which they, to the foresaid Abbot ought to doe, and of ancient time have been accustomed to performe; without any contrada Et on. manner, &c. Doe as before they have been accustomed.

The disobedient are commanded to be taken, and imprisoned as Rebels.

11 H 7. 13

In the time of King Henry the seventh there were villains. This I observe to make it appeare how little it is which the miserable common people, without whom no famous milchiefe can be attained. are gainers by any of their riots, or seditions; whatsoever the changes are, their condition is still the same or worse; if some few of them advance themselves by the spoiles of the publique shpwrack, the rest are no happier for it; the insolent sight offends their eyes, they see the dirt of their owne ditches Lord it over them, and the body of them (perhaps) more despised than ever. Tyler (who could not but have known that nothing can be so destructive to Government, as the licentiousness of the base Commons) would doubtlesse (when his
own

owns work had been done) quickly have chained up the Monster; he would have perched in the Kings sacred Oake; all the Forrest should have beene his, Bishopricks, Earledomes, nay the Kingdomes had been swallowed by him; intead of a *just legall power* by which the Kings acted, an *arbitrary, boundlesse, unlimited power* must have beene set up; intead of a fatherly royall Monarchy, a *Tyrannie* after the Turkish mode, a Monarchy seignioral; and had he brought in upon the fall of the Christian Faith and Worship, which must have followed his *establishment*, Circumcision, and the Creed of *Mahomet*: as the spirits of men were then debased, he must have been obeyed. All the Kings right (and more) must have been his; *Sultan Tyler's Prerogative* would have been found more grievous, more heavy, more killing than all the yokes and scorpions of our Kings; no man, when he went to sleep, could assure himself that one Law wou'd be left next morning; the *Orainances* of Tyler and his Council flew about in swarms, killing and rooting up the Laws: one Proclamation of this Tyrants was of force to blow up the ancient Foundation; enough to have made men mad, if ever they could wake, and under-

stand : when the *French* had conquered *Naples*, the people looked for a Golden World, they thought their new Master would (as the King of *Mexico's* Oath used to say) do Justice to all men, make the Sun to shine, the Clouds to rain, the Earth to be fruitfull : They promise themselves *Liberty*, and that the accustomed Imposts of their former *Kings* of the House of *Arragon* should not onely be taken off, but the very word *Gabelle* driven out of the Kingdom, ther should be no such thing in nature left ; but foolish dolts as they were. they found an alteration quickly, instead of a Court Cavalcie before (the new Masters ill established and assured, not daring to trust any thing) standing Armies were continually to be kept on foot, instead of one Tax, intolerable of late, they are oppressed with ten, their backs and shoulders crack under the load.

Upon this fancy of these abused *Italians*, sayes the Historian, *This is the custome*, for the most part of all people weary ever of the present condition, and inconsiderately gaping after a change, but they receive such wages of their fond and disorderly lightness.

The War undertaken against *Lewis* the 11 of *France* by the House of *Burgundy*,
Dukes

Dukes of *Berry*, *Brittainel*, and *Burbon*, called the *Weale publick*, was not made against the King (say the *Alies*) but against evill order, injustice in the Government, and for the *publick good* of the Realm. In the Treaty for Peace these fine things are forgotten, the wretched Peasants torn, and ground with Taxes, left to shift for themselves.

The Prince of the *Burgaundies* demands the Townes upon the *Some* for himselfe: *Normandy* for the Duke of *Berry*, and other places, Offices, and Pensions for the rest, some overtures were made for the *Weal publick* (sayes the *History*) that is all, *Commen.* the *Weal publick* was the least of the question, the *Weal publick* was turned to *Weal particular*, *self seeking* was the sum of the business. This has been the fashion of all Rebels hitherto, and will bee to the worlds end. After these proceedings the *Hartfordshire* men betwixt the ages of 15 and 60 present themselves according to command, and take the Oath of Allegiance; they are sworn too to unkennel and apprehend the late Incendiaries.

The King having now quieted the commotions removes to *Berkhamsted* eight miles from *St. Albane*, a royal Castle then,

and at *Easthamsted* where he hunts, is informed, That the bodies of the Traytors executed were taken down from the Gallows, hereupon he directs his Writ or Letter to the Bailies of *St. Albanes*, commanding them under penalty of forfeiting all things forfeitable to hang up again the said bodies now rotten, and stinking in Iron chains, which the Townsmen are forced to do with their own hands.

A Parliament sitting in *May* the fifth year of this Kings Reign, *John Wraw* Priest of the Reformation at *Mildenhall*, and *St. Edmandsbury* was taken, and upon the Petition of the house of Commons to the King, judged to be drawn, and hanged. In the same Parliament too it was enacted, That whersoever any Clowes by six or seven in a company kept suspicious Conventicles the Kings good and faithfull Subjects should lay hold of them and commit them to the next Gaol without staying for the Kings Writ. In the same Parliament of the King it was made Treason to begin a Riot, Rout, or Rumour; by this Parliament, and that of the 6. Provisions are made for those whose Deeds were burnt or destroyed in the late insurrection, and in the 6. of *Richard*, the King pardons the multitudes for their

Wals.
Hypod.

their misdeameours in the tumults. The Clowns now every where return'd to their old Obedience, and the winds were laid in all this quarter. *Richard*, a Prince born for troubles, shall be turmoiled with the Rebellions of his *Peers* and *Parliaments*, deposed and murdered by them. yet his memory shall be sacred, his *Peers* and *Clowns* shall dig for him in his grave. Posterity too shall owe all things to his person. After the death of *Maximus* a wicked bloody thief, a cruel tyrant, who invaded the Roman Empire, *Capitolinus* recites a gratulatory Letter written by *Claudius Julianus* a Consul to the Emperours *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, whom he calls *Preservers* and *Redeemers of the Common Wealth*, there the Consul tells them they had restored to the Senate (the house of Lords) their ancient dignity to the *Romans* their Laws, Equity, and Clemency abolished, their lives, their manners, their liberty, the hopes of succession to their heirs. He adds, they had freed the Provinces from the insatiable covetousness of tyrannes, no voice, language, nor wit can express (saies he) the publick happiness.

King *Richard* restored to the Church and Universities their rights and possessions, to the

Fal. Capitol.
nefarii im-
probi latro-
nis.

the Nobilitie their honour, to the Gentry their respect, to the Cities their free Trade, the plenty of his harvest to the industrious Countryman, Security, Peace, and Liberty to all Orders, what Prince could bestow greater benefits upon a people? he was the Stator, the Saviour of the Nation, a Nation not worthy of him, whose ingratefulness to his sacred head, whose perfidiousness and impiety in advancing an usurper upon his ruins; were punished with a fatall Civill War, which lasted ages, with an issue of blood which could not be stopped till the true and lawful heir of this Prince was seated in the Imperial Throne, according to the Faith and Oathes of this people (which whatsoever may be pretended no power on earth can dispence with) and according to the Fundamental Laws of *England*.

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